Illinois U Library

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

11-47 TEICHER
174 ADELPHI ST Y
FISS 2 16TH ST I N
MI 7142 FLUSHING L
FLUSHING
XG

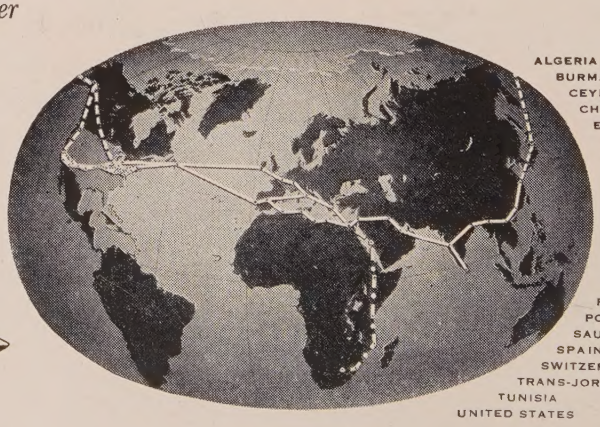
ohn Hersey Presents Citizens of these 55 UNITED NATIONS

th "Alternatives to Apathy" . . . Lin Yutang: China's "New Deal" of 1000 Years Ago . . .
Palestine: Faris el Khouri — The Arab Case; Moshe Shertok — The Jewish Case
Exclusive Interviews: Walter Lippmann, Ambassador Santa Cruz

35
MA
194

Where the World is One

Above all nations, the world around, sky routes are fast and free.
The world up there is everyone's world.
And no one knows it better than your Starliner pilot and crew—for TWA Starliners fly more than 5,000,000 miles a month, up where the world is one.



TWA—Trans World Airline
connecting airlines—Northwest Airlines
TWA—route applied for

YOUR TRAVEL AGENT REPRESENTS

TWA

TRANS WORLD AIRLINE

Illinois U Library

LETTERS

UNW and UN

The first number of a new magazine is always significant. Often the subsequent numbers are terribly disappointing. That is why I have waited until today to congratulate you. The first issue of *UNW* was splendid; the next two were even better. I therefore send you today, with complete confidence in the future, my heartiest congratulations and all good wishes for your success.

HENRI LAUGIER
Assistant Secretary General
for Social Affairs
The United Nations

As the Assistant Secretary General responsible for Public Information, I wish to express my appreciation of the manner in which UNW cooperates in the all-important task of enlightening the peoples on the aims and activities of our Organization.

BENJAMIN COHEN
Assistant Secretary General
for Information
The United Nations

Our Principles

I like your statement of principles on page 11 (March), but—you slipped. On page 13 in talking about subscriptions you say: "Foreign postage." Don't you mean postage outside the United States?

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER
Washington, D. C.

UNW is an international magazine and can control its policies. But postal services are national and the mail is "foreign" if it goes out of the country of origin.—Ed.

Greetings from Abroad

I . . . am very interested to hear of the merger resulting in UNW. I wish the new magazine every success in its international outlook.

DOUGLAS DICKINS
London, England

As a former employee in the American Foreign Service for eight years, I am most interested in your work . . . and wish you all success. Let us hope that United Nations World will meet with great success in Sweden.

HJ. JAGERSTROM
Sundsvall, Sweden

The first Swedish edition of UNW was published on April 2.—Ed.

I very often find your review cited in the Swiss press.

PROF. LUIGI RAINONI
Lugano, Switzerland

UNW as Study Medium

The nature of its *UNW's* articles, its style, its format, all look very promising to the high school student of contemporary world problems. Our social studies department found

Services for Security Owners

In the care of your own investment holdings or those under your supervision owned by an institution, firm, or corporation, you can be freed of all detail and obtain safekeeping, investment, and other important services through the facilities afforded by this Company, including:

1. **Custody Service**—provides safekeeping of holdings, collection of income and other services, and the important advantage of ready availability for purchase, sale, and delivery in the financial center.
2. **Investment Agency Service**—provides investment advice with safekeeping of securities.
3. **Trust Service**—provides administration of trust funds as trustee.

We shall be pleased to furnish detailed information regarding any services in which you may be interested.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

Capital Funds, $356,000,000

140 Broadway
New York 15

Fifth Ave. at 44th St.
New York 18

Madison Ave. at 60th St.
New York 21

40 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20

LONDON · PARIS · BRUSSELS

Do YOU Know what YOUR Stocks are Worth Under Today's Conditions?

The Value Line Ratings and Reports, published weekly, reveal to you at a glance today's normal prices of 320 leading common stocks on the basis of their estimated earnings and dividends through 1947. The normal projected values can then be compared with the current price to indicate the degree of undervaluation or overvaluation in individual stocks. Supervision is year 'round, each of the 320 stocks being reported on 6 times annually.

The Value Line Ratings are not personal opinions. They are a discovery of the relationship that has existed for 20 years past between reported earnings and assets per share on the one hand and market prices and interest rates on the other. When the market temporarily deviates from its own long term sense of value, the investor has an opportunity to buy stocks cheap or sell them dear.

The principles upon which the Value Line Ratings are based are:

(1) Each stock has its individual price earnings ratio. (General Electric normally sells at a higher price earnings ratio than General Motors. Republic Steel at a lower price-earnings ratio than Sears Roebuck.)

(2) The price-earnings ratio varies at different levels of earning power. (For example, United States Steel was too high at 10 times earnings in 1929 when the stock earned $22 a share. Yet Steel was too low at 40 times earnings when in one 12 month period between 1934 and '35 it earned $1 per share).

The Value Line shows you the right price of 320 leading stocks today. The Value Line is a scientific approach to sound investing. Large and small investors from coast to coast, banks and investment counselors, have subscribed to Value Line for years.

Good Will Offer to United Nations World Readers

To help you appraise your stocks under today's conditions or to select the best values for new investment, a full month's service for $5 is offered. This rate is well below the $95 annual rate. You will receive all the following: 4 weekly issues of Value Line Ratings & Rpeorts covering half the 320 stocks under year 'round supervision, Special Situations Report, Supervised Account Report, and 2 Fortnightly Letters.

Published & Copyrighted by
Arnold Bernhard & Co., Inc.

UN-1

THE VALUE LINE INVESTMENT SURVEY
350 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Send me the next 4 weekly mailings of the Value Line Ratings & Reports and other informative services described above:

(Name) .....

(Street) .....

(City) .....(Zone).....(State).....

☐ My check for $5.00 is enclosed.

the full page map of world conflicts (February) timely and useful.

DORA LEAVITT
Head Librarian
Seattle Public Schools

I . . . am deeply interested in your publication. A woman's club to which I belong is interested in using it for a study program of the United Nations. . . . Do you have an outline that would be helpful in such study?

MRS. PHILIP PEYTON
Davidson, North Carolina

We have had a number of requests for study outlines and have under consideration a plan for providing such outlines beginning in the fall.—Ed.

"Idiotic"?

If we at present had a UN I would be very glad to subscribe to your magazine. Our present UN is a fraud and a delusion and always will be just as long as Russia and her satellites are UN members. I no more than you want another war but the U.S. persists in an insane, idiotic effort to get along with Stalin.

Please explain how UN, unless it is made democratic, can ever lead to anything but war.

W. G. KITTS
Birmingham, Alabama

The Charter of the UN has been ratified by the parliaments of 55 countries. There are certainly improvements to be made but we will not get them by "name-calling" directed against the highest international institution of mankind.—Ed.

Nicaragua's Politics

I must tell you that I am disappointed in the March issue because of one little paragraph published on page 17 under the title "Somoza's Man on Top in Nicaragua." In the seven short lines of this article there are seven errors of fact to which I should like to call your attention.

1. Dr. Arguello, the respected and beloved President-elect, is not and has never been a Conservative. Quite the contrary, he is the apostle and leader of Nicaraguan liberalism.
2. Dr. Arguello is not 75 years old.
3. The opposition is formed mainly by the Conservative Party whose strong man is General Emiliano Chamorro. It was he who "picked" Dr. Aguado as the candidate of his, Chamorro's party, although Aguado himself was a Liberal.
4. Dr. Arguello cannot be called the candidate of President Somoza for he was unanimously elected by the Liberal Party Convention as its candidate.
5. Somoza is not a dictator. Liberty of speech and libetry of action have characterized his administration and freedom of the press, the first to succumb to any dictatorship, is notable in Nicaragua.
6. Somoza is not "iron-fisted." This is borne out by many facts: there are no political prisoners in my country.
7. The votes were not counted by Somoza's men.

May I assure you that if in the future you receive any information on Nicaragua which you wish to have clarified, this Embassy is entirely at your orders to answer any of your questions and we will be glad to cooperate with you and contribute, if we can, to the success of your magazine.

GUILLERMO SEVILLA SACASA
Ambassador of Nicaragua

We welcome the comments of Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa and certainly hope that, under Dr. Arguello, the democratic assurances the Ambassador gives will be fully put into practice. However, we must point out the following: 1—UNW used the word "conservative" without a capital C and hence not as a party label; the Nationalist Liberal Party, which sponsored Arguello, falls into the category of extreme Right. 2—We apologize. Arguello (according to the Latin American Who's Who) *is 72, not 75—although Somoza himself,* vide *the New York Times, Jan. 31, said he was 74 or 75. However, he looks much younger since he apparently dyed his beard. 3—The "Conservative Party," which supported Aguado, is by no means "liberal" in the accepted sense, but at least it opposes dictatorship. 4—Presided over by Somoza, the Nationalist Liberal Convention which picked Arguello was held behind closed doors with soldiers and machine guns at every exit. 5—Close observers, not just* UNW, *consider Somoza a typical dictator with a rubber-stamp Congress and wide control over banks, insurance companies and private industry; during his 10 years' rule without elections every newspaper except Somoza's two has been suppressed at one time or another. 6—It is true that there are at present no political prisoners in Nicaragua —but there have been plenty of involuntary exiles. 7—The Nationalist Liberals and Nationalist Conservatives, who supported Arguello, were accredited to the National Electoral Council, which supervised the election —the Conservative Party, which backed Aguado, was refused representation.*

Women for President

On page 6 of the April issue of your publication, under the heading "A Señora for President," you invite contradictions, so here I am with the following:

Despite the fact that they themselves could not vote, there were two women candidates for the presidency of the United States in the nineteenth century. Victoria Claflin Woodhull Martin was the candidate of the Equal Rights Party in 1872; Belva Lockwood was the candidate of the Equal Rights Party of the Pacific Coast in 1884 and 1888.

So you see Señora Grau of Cuba is not the first candidate for presidency of an American country.

EDITH GOLDFARB
Onset, Mass.

Thanks to Mrs. Goldfarb and other readers for responding to our invitation—"contradictions welcome"—with the above facts regarding women candidates for president in the Americas.—Ed.

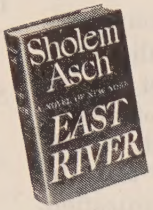
UNITED NATIONS WORLD, May 1947, Vol. 1, No. 4, published monthly by UN World, Inc., 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Printed in U. S. A. Application for entry as second class matter at Post Office of New York is pending. Subscription prices: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, $1.00 a year.

SURELY YOU HAVE WANTED TO READ ONE OF THESE GOOD BOOKS

Begin your subscription to the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *with any one of them:*

MR. BLANDINGS BUILDS HIS DREAM HOUSE
By Eric Hodgins
and
THE ANGELIC AVENGERS
By Pierre Andrezel
(*double selection*)
Combined price to members only **$3.25**

Mr. Hodgins' rib-tickling new book tells of a New York couple who built a country home . . . *The Angelic Avengers* is a beautifully written story of mystery, adventure, and young love.

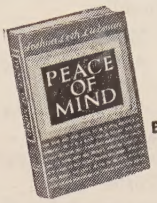


EAST RIVER
By Sholem Asch
$3.00

This moving story of New York's teeming lower East Side is proving even more popular than Mr. Asch's *The Nazarene* or *The Apostle*. "A novel of faith in people, in which every reader will be able to recognize its spiritual eloquence."—*Chicago Sun.*

THE EGG AND I
By Betty MacDonald
$2.75

An exuberant personal history about the problems two young people encounter when they undertake to operate a chicken farm. *The Egg and I* is the hilarious story of their fate, told with humor and much charm. Over a million copies already sold.

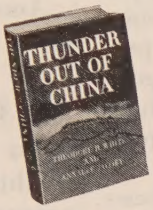


PEACE OF MIND
By Joshua Loth Liebman
$2.50

The book that has headed the non-fiction best-seller list for many weeks. It discusses simply and wisely what ordinary individuals can do to bring perspective and stability into their own lives, instead of confusion and frustration.

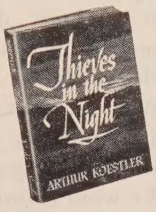
ALL THE KING'S MEN
By Robert Penn Warren
$3.00

This novel of a poor-white who rose to political power and virtual dictatorship in a Southern state has been praised by practically all critics. *The Book-of-the-Month Club News* called it "the most remarkable novel to come out of the South this year."



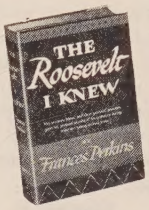
THUNDER OUT OF CHINA
By T. H. White and Annalee Jacoby
$3.00

The chief of *Time* and *Life* service in China during the war years, and his assistant, give the key to the great Chinese puzzle. A book of profound significance, since it is in China that the United States and Russia face each other most directly.



THIEVES IN THE NIGHT
By Arthur Koestler
$2.75

In this best-selling new novel, the author of *Darkness at Noon* goes behind the headlines to tell the extraordinary and powerful story of conflict in Palestine today. "An impressive and significant performance," says Richard Watts.

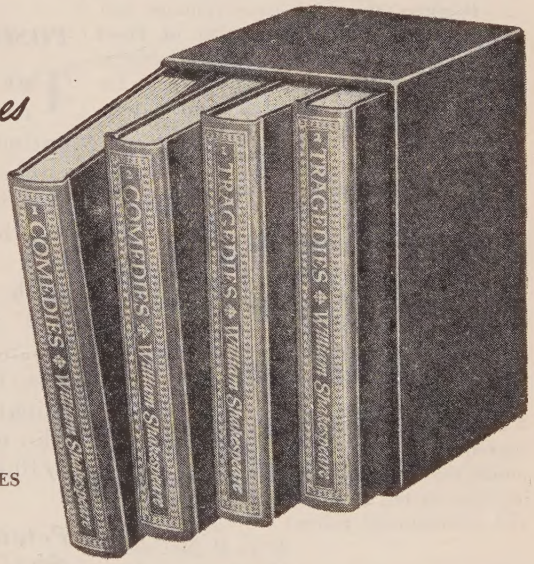


THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW
By Frances Perkins
Price to members only
$3.00

A revealing biography of F.D.R., by the former Secretary of Labor. "No one has given us a more genuinely satisfactory account of the mental, spiritual, and political growth of Franklin Roosevelt."—*The N.Y. Times Book Review.*

AND AS A NEW MEMBER—RECEIVE

Free... *In Four Beautiful Volumes*



All the Comedies & Tragedies of SHAKESPEARE

Retail Price $10.00

27 Plays..EXTENSIVE GLOSSARY OF TERMS..NOTES & COMMENTS..2500 PAGES

Illustrated by Warren Chappell and Fritz Kredel

You buy many books-of-the-month ANYWAY—why not get them from the Club, PAY LESS, and share in the Club's book-dividends

YOU do not pay any yearly subscription fee as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club. *You simply pay for the particular books you decide to take,* and you may take as few as four books-of-the-month in any twelve-month period. The Club's judges are sure to choose at least four books each year you will be anxious not to miss reading.

Since the books you take from the Club *are only those you would buy anyway,* the saving is extraordinary. The amount you pay for the book-of-the-month is the regular retail price—frequently less. (A small charge is added to cover postage and other mailing expenses.) *Yet with every second book-of-the-month you take, you receive—free—one of the Club's book-dividends.* These are beautiful library volumes, sometimes two-or-three volume sets, sometimes highly popular best-sellers. Last year, the retail value of the free books Club members received was close to $16,000,000—these were given, not sold!

This is how the system works: you receive a careful *pre-publication report* about each book-of-the-month, and at the same time reports about all other important new books. Whenever you decide you want the book-of-the-month, you let it come. If not, you may either specify any other book you want, or simply write, "Send me nothing next month."

Thus, you keep yourself well-informed *about all the new books,* you get only those you want, you often pay less for them, and —on top of that—on the average you get at least 50% more books for the money you spend than you otherwise would. (*Prices are slightly higher in Canada.*)

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB **A 1444**
385 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member. I am to receive, free, the four-volume COMEDIES AND TRAGEDIES OF SHAKESPEARE. For every two books-of-the-month I purchase from the Club, I am to receive, free, the current book-dividend then being distributed. I agree to purchase at least four books-of-the-month from the Club each full year I am a member, and I may cancel my subscription any time after purchasing four such books from the Club.

Name.....
Please Print Plainly

Address.....

City..... Postal Zone No. (if any) .... *State*:.....

Begin My Subscription With.....
(choose one of the books at top of page)

.....

Book prices are slightly higher in Canada, but the Club ships to Canadian members, without any extra charge for duty, through Book-of-the-Month Club (Canada), Limited.

Dr. Coomaraswamy

I liked very much the article by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (February). . . . Very stimulating and enlightening. We need more articles of this sort to counteract our tendency toward nationalism, and imperialism in the guise of crusading.

MRS. CLEMENT M. JOHNSTON
Arlington, Virginia

I was much disappointed in the article by Ananda Coomaraswamy. . . . Mr. C. thinks only of the learned upper caste. We are to live in "One World" now. . . .

We are hoping much for the UNW. Let's keep it strong for temperance—alcohol is proving our downfall at present.

IDA KEIGWIN
Colchester, Connecticut

Regarding the article by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, the author's erudition and scholarship are admitted, but one may question his philosophic approach to culture. His bitterness is not objective, while his failure to recognize good in Western culture is partisan—bitterness and partisanship being alien to philosophy, and, I might add, not characteristic of Indian sages.

EUGENE R. SHIPPEN
Winter Park, Florida

Here is . . . the astonishing article of Arthur Compton, intellectually on the level of a mediocre high school boy composition. . . . However, the same issue contains two such outstanding articles as that of Pearl Buck and of the Indian scholar Coomaraswamy. To my taste such articles expiate for the mediocrity of many other contributions.

C. LANCZOS
Seattle, Washington

The Advertising Angle

It seems that UNW has taken a step backward . . . by accepting advertisements from Seagram Distillers Corp. . . . Frankly, gentlemen, I do not approve and I do not think you are consistent in your aim as on page 39 the Editors say, "The *United Nations World* is independent, non-partisan and non-conventional." Or are you going to tell your public that Seagram Distillers Corp. will not interfere in the formulation of your national and international policy?

JOHN D. MCCANN
New Concord, Ohio

Certainly neither this advertiser nor any other one will interfere with our policies. —Ed.

"Federal World Government"

I believe this timely educational magazine will become . . . of great historical importance to a future understanding of the Federal World Government of Law which I foresee presently evolving out of the UN under the increasing pressures of obtruding realistic circumstances.

LINCOLN C. ANDREWS
Brigadier General U.S.A. Rtd.

(*Continued on Page* 76)

LIFE IN OUR WORLD

AN AMAZING COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

A NEW international colony is establishing itself in the U. S. It consists of thousands of officials of the UN Secretariat and of various international agencies, such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, as well as of permanent delegations to the UN.

This new group of residents is particularly interesting because it comprises highly qualified people who are not destined to become American citizens, and thus are psychologically in a different category from the normal immigrant whose main ambition it is to be accepted in the "melting pot."

We went around to ask their views after one year's stay in the U. S.

Typical answers we got, both on the positive and negative side, are summed up below.

POSITIVE

THE wealth and abundance of the country surpass even the most optimistic expectations.

The quantity of products available is staggering to the newcomer who has left Europe or Asia recently.

The abundance of food is such that the recent arrival is almost ashamed to consume it. During the first few months he is constantly thinking of the people back home, who would be very happy with but 1/10th the amount.

Politics, Schools—and No Frontiers!

THE political life of the nation seems to them more stable than that in their own countries, and the system of continuing executive power through the four-year presidential term attracts a lot of attention among those who are politically minded.

The mass of research material, the library system and the great number of educational institutions are viewed very favorably.

One thing that impresses those who have had occasion to travel across the country is the fact that for 3,000 miles there are no borders, customs or passport formalities.

Science, Music, Sports—Tops

AMERICAN science is considered as really having come of age.

Music and sports are considered at the very top.

The principle of religious freedom and inter-faith equality appears to them very deeply rooted in the country.

Americans are, by and large, generous and hospitable.

NEGATIVE

THE United States, our visitors think, is getting a more and more pronounced superiority complex. Every institution, everything produced or done or existing in this country is considered "the best" or "the biggest" in the world.

Democratic institutions, while very strong, seem to a certain extent endangered by the almost hysterical fear of foreign influence.

The educational system, while wonderfully equipped, lacks a certain depth.

The theatre is still in its infancy.

In literature, except for some isolated brilliant work, the chief characteristic is mass production. As one of the critics put it: "In reading the Sunday supplements, one would think the books come off a chain of the Ford factory."

That Brutal Tempo!

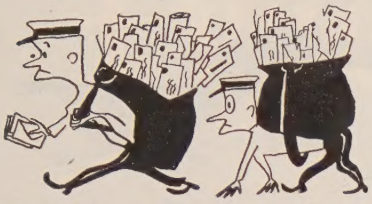
THE rhythm of life is harder and more brutal than in the rest of the world. There is a certain toughness in the air, a curtness in answering a question, an all-pervading haste that risks discouraging the visitor.

Racial equality, while accepted as a moral principle by the country, does not seem to be applied in practice in many sectors of society.

The housing shortage is as bad as in the worst countries of the world; the cooking art is mediocre; the press and radio too summary—and a bit superficial to boot, on international affairs.

Atom

MORE and more people want to know about atomic energy and its control. The American Association for the



United Nations reports that 50,000 requests have come in asking for the full texts of the Baruch, Lilienthal and U.S.S.R. Atomic Control proposals.

Up, Scotland!

THE Scots are getting Edinburgh shined up for "Enterprise Scotland, 1947"—an industrial design exhibit scheduled for August. It will be held in the Scottish capital at the same time as the International Festival of Music and Drama (Life in Our World, March). The exhibit, sponsored by the Scottish Committee of the Council of Industrial Design, will show the best in Scottish industry under four heads: Scotland Yesterday, The Country (featuring sporting goods and tartans), Scotland Today, and Scotland Tomorrow.

Dilemma in Calcutta

WHEN the 1945 Broadway play *Ten Little Indians* was staged in Calcutta, it was advertised as *Ten Little Niggers* to avoid offending the Indian people (the word "nigger," in British parlance, is not derogatory). U. S. troops in the vicinity who read the newspaper ads complained that this would offend some Americans. The only remedy provided by ENSA (British equivalent of USO) was to change the title to *Ten Little Colored Boys,* which displeased everybody—even a dramatic critic who liked the play but called the name "ridiculous."

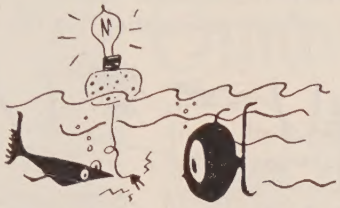
Radar on the Mississippi

LAST month we told about the radio-eyed colliers in the Thames. Now we learn that radar is coming to the

aid of boats on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and other inland U.S. rivers. The operation of the radiomarine 3.2 centimeter radar is simplified by a 12-inch viewing screen which produces large clear pictures of the area under observation. The ability of super-high-frequency radar to spot river obstructions and moving and anchored craft regardless of weather, will make possible continued operations at all times at a great saving to boat operators.

Tidal Electricity for France?

ALTHOUGH France's Monnet Plan envisages the building of 58 new hydro-electric projects by 1952, French planners are not sure that even this vast program will produce enough electrical energy to satisfy the country's economy. Great interest has therefore been aroused by the plan, now under consideration, to harness the



tide of the Rance River on the French Channel coast. Under the plan, 18 generators, each producing 20,000 KWH, would derive energy from a central drainage cycle. Estimated costs of the project, which would take nine years to complete, are nearly 10 billion francs (about $85,000,000 at the official rate), or 55 per cent greater per KWH than that of a river project.

More Parishes in U.S.S.R.

DR. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, declared in Geneva that the Russian Orthodox Church is considering favorably affiliation with the World Council. According to latest reports, Russian Orthodox parishes in the Soviet Union have increased by 3,500 to 25,000 in six months.

F.D.R.'s Gifts

MOULAY MOHAMMED BEN YOUSSEF, Sultan of Morocco—who recently proposed the union of French and Spanish Morocco during a visit to Tangiers—has 24 automobiles, but he likes best the one given to him by the late President Roosevelt. Another Moslem ruler, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, also has a gift from F.D.R. which he prizes. This is a wheel chair, in which he recently was photographed inspecting U. S. oil projects in the desert along the Persian Gulf. The King recently purchased his first American motor car.

Columbus a Latecomer

CHAL-LAL, Hindu newspaperman visiting Mexico, claims that Columbus did not discover America and that the Hindu people and Latin America's Indians were one race. He bases his statement on the resemblance between India's temples and Mayan, Aztec, and Inca architecture. "To say that Columbus discovered America is an historical error made by Europeans, who knew little about the world before the XVth Century," he says.

Welcome to Cuba

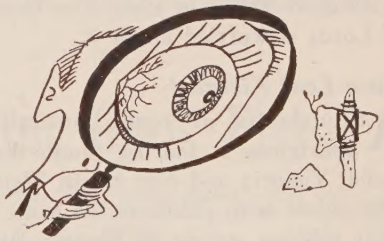
SUGAR, tourists and tobacco are the big three of Cuban economy—and just now tourists, who have been buying up the tropic island's sunshine at a $30,000,000 per annum clip, are very much in fashion. To improve the allure, five $2,500 prizes have been offered by the National Tourist Corporation to property owners who build the best tourist camps during the first six months of 1947.

U.S. Journalism On the Upgrade

THE journalistic career is increasingly popular with American students. Journalism schools have an enrollment twice as large as before the war. The total: 13,875 (8,641 men and 5,233 women).

Another "Cradle of the Human Race"

STONE axes by the hundreds and other vestiges of a prehistoric hunting ground or battlefield dating from the beginning of the paleolithic era, some



1,000,000 years ago—were found by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in central Kenya, about 40 miles from Nairobi. Dr. Leakey, director of the Nairobi Museum, told the Pan-African Congress of Pre-History and Science that West Africa might even have been the cradle of the human race.

A Shield for Malta

THE world's most bombed island, Malta, has been awarded one of the four coveted shields of the National Baby Welfare Council of Great Britain. It earned the honor by showing the best record of maternity and child

welfare work carried on during the war years in the British Commonwealth and Empire outside the U.K.

Boomerang

FIRED by President Perón from a university professorship two years ago for political reasons, Professor

Esteban Rondadina, now an exile in Montevideo, recently discovered a new comet in the constellation of the Southern Cross. Asked to check the discovery, the Government-owned Observatory of Córdoba, Argentina, confirmed the professor's find and listed the new body as "Rondadina's Comet."

Sensible Norway

NORWAY, whose labor force is more than 50 per cent organized, has not had a major strike in 15 years. According to Paal Berg, national conciliator and former chief justice of the Norwegian Supreme Court, the good record is the result of a conciliatory attitude in the part of both labor and management. Berg considers the unions are no longer "fighting units" but "organs for social stabilization."

A Worry for the Lords

DIVORCES in Britain have increased in the past seven years from 6,332 in 1939 to 50,000 in 1946. The House of Lords is worried about it.

Gum Leaf Virtuosi

AN orchestra of young Australian aborigines is touring South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. The object is to publicize the work of their mission station in Western Aus-

tralia. The youngsters, aged eight to 17, make music with banjo-mandolins, ukeleles, tamborines, drums and gum-tree (eucalyptus) leaves. The trick with the leaves, it seems, is to blow on them in the same way that American kids get tunes out of grass.

Two Unique Banks

"THE biggest bank in the world," according to the Moscow radio, is now the State Bank of the Soviet Union, which has nearly three million accounts. . . . Another unique bank is the Misr Bank of Egypt, an all-Egyptian concern, founded in 1920, which has financed many industrial enterprises. In accordance with the precepts of the Koran, which forbids usury, many Moslem depositors keep considerable amounts in this bank without interest. The resultant economy to the bank has helped it expand its aid to Egyptian enterprises.

Retreats for Sacred Cattle

CAMPS in forest areas where old and infirm Indian cattle "can live peacefully without propagation for the rest

of their lives" were proposed by S.B. Sir Datar Singh, Vice Chairman of Agricultural Research and Cattle Utilization, at a recent Cattle Protection Conference. The Hindu public, which regards the cow as sacred, can always visit these camps, he said, and "satisfy themselves as to the arrangements." The first camp is likely to be in the Rishikesh area.

Peron's Profit

ARGENTINE farmers and President Juan D. Perón are still fighting it out. The government pays farmers 10 pesos per quintal of corn which it sells abroad for 20 pesos, making 100 per cent profit. The farmers claim this is unfair and protest meetings continue throughout the country.

Next Stop—the Moon!

DR. JAMES A. VAN ALLEN, of the Johns Hopkins University, has predicted that within 15 years a crewless rocket will reach the moon. Major P. C. Calhoun, chief of the AAF's guided missile branch, is no less optimistic—he even hopes to take a trip to the moon before he dies.

Advance in Group Insurance

FOURTEEN million American workers are insured for $28,000,000,000 through group life insurance—an average of $2,000 per worker. This marks a 23 per cent increase over the 1945 figure.

Hunted Horses

WILD horses are no mere figure of speech in South Australia. They multiplied to such extent during the

war that they are now a serious nuisance. Nearly 5,000 were shot on one big ranch alone and there were said to be about as many left.

African Indians Refused Passports

DR. Y. M. DADOO, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, were both refused passports by South African authorities when they sought to attend the recent Inter-Asian Conference in India.

German Co-ops.

THREE hundred German pre-war co-operative leaders met in Hamburg in March to lay the groundwork for the reconstruction of the German cooperative movement. The chief speaker was Dr. Victor Agartz, chairman of the Economic Executive Council in the Anglo-American Zone and a cooperative leader in pre-Hitler Germany.

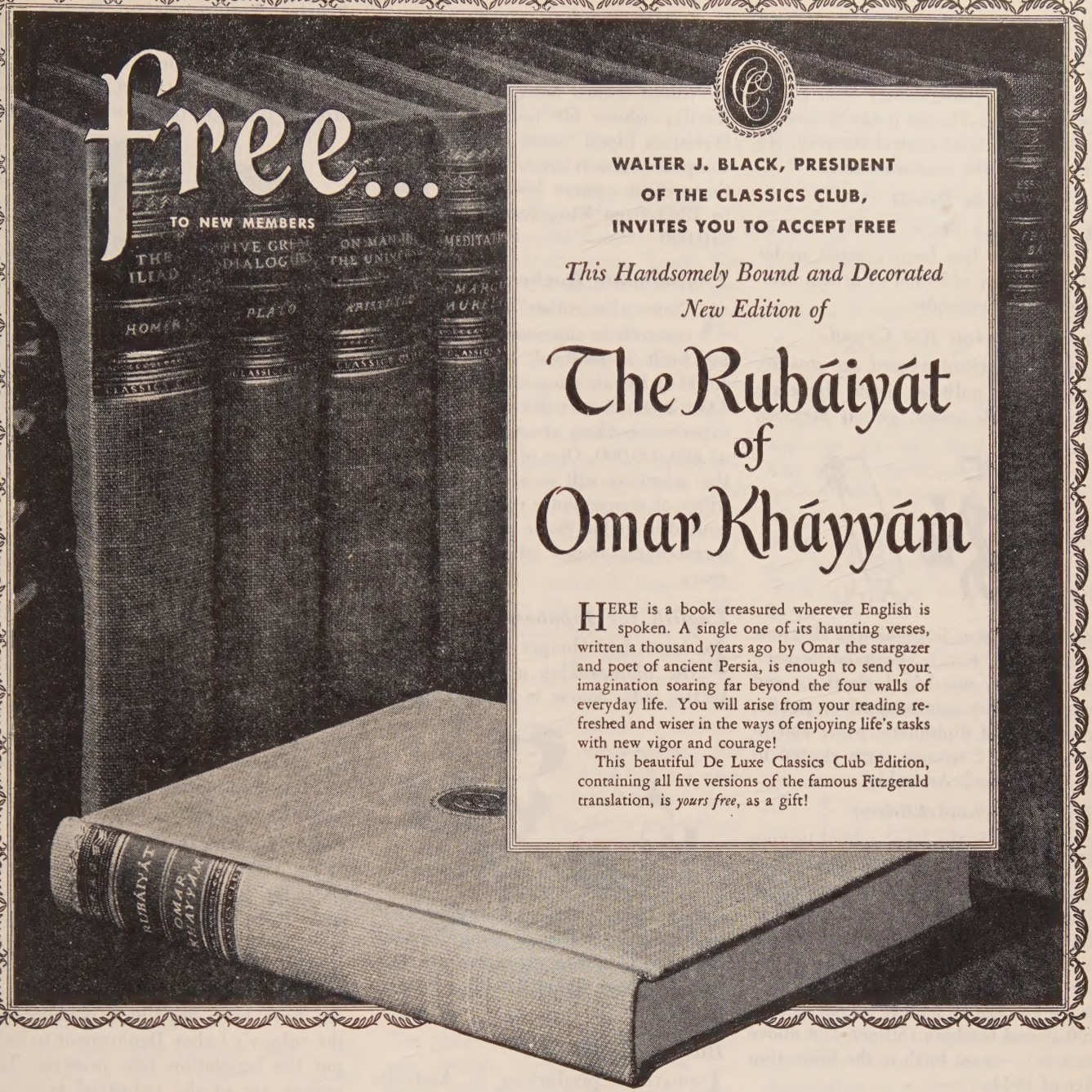
Colombia Seeks Air Safety

AS A result of the four serious airplane accidents which cost 84 lives in recent months, Colombia has set up a Civil Aeronautics Board under Major Camilo Daza and Capt. Enrique Concha Venegas. One of the first things the Board did was to fix new license requirements for commercial pilots. They are now required to have a minimum of 1,200 hours to their credit and must have flown 600 hours as co-pilots on local routes.

A Russian "Refugee"

A FARMER near Trondheim, Norway, recently came upon a ragged

tousle-haired man asleep in his cow shed. The man leaped to his feet with his hands in the air and shouted in some strange language. It turned out he was a Russian soldier, taken pris-



WALTER J. BLACK, PRESIDENT OF THE CLASSICS CLUB, INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT FREE

This Handsomely Bound and Decorated New Edition of

The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám

HERE is a book treasured wherever English is spoken. A single one of its haunting verses, written a thousand years ago by Omar the stargazer and poet of ancient Persia, is enough to send your imagination soaring far beyond the four walls of everyday life. You will arise from your reading refreshed and wiser in the ways of enjoying life's tasks with new vigor and courage!

This beautiful De Luxe Classics Club Edition, containing all five versions of the famous Fitzgerald translation, is *yours free*, as a gift!

Why The Classics Club Offers You This Book Free

WILL you add this lovely volume to your library—as a membership gift from The Classics Club? You are invited to join today . . . and to receive on approval beautiful editions of the world's greatest masterpieces.

These books, selected unanimously by distinguished literary authorities, were chosen because they offer the greatest enjoyment and value to the "pressed for time" men and women of today.

Why Are Great Books Called "Classics"?

A true "classic" is a living book that will never grow old. For sheer fascination it can rival the most thrilling modern novel. Have you ever wondered how the truly great books have *become* "classics"? First, because they are so readable. They would not have lived unless they were read; they would not have been read unless they were interesting. To be interesting they had to be easy to understand. And those are the very qualities which characterize these selections: *readability, interest, simplicity.*

Only Book Club of Its Kind

The Classics Club is different from all other book clubs. 1. It distributes to its members the world's classics at a low price. 2. Its members are not obligated to take any specific number of books. 3. Its volumes (which are being used today in many leading colleges and universities) are luxurious De Luxe Editions—bound in the fine buckram ordinarily used for $5 and $10 bindings. They have tinted page tops; are richly stamped in genuine gold, which will retain its original lustre—books you and your children will read and cherish for many years.

A Trial Membership Invitation to You

You are invited to accept a Trial Membership. With your first book will be sent an advance notice about future selections. You may reject any book you do not wish. You need not take any specific number of books—only the ones you want. No money in advance, no membership fees. You may cancel membership any time.

Mail this Invitation Form now. Paper, printing, binding costs are rising. This low price—and your FREE copy of THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM—cannot be assured unless you respond promptly. THE CLASSICS CLUB, One Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Walter J. Black, President **GGGL**
THE CLASSICS CLUB
One Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a Trial Member and send me, FREE, the beautiful De Luxe Classics Club Edition of THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM, together with the current selection.

I am not obligated to take any specific number of books and I am to receive an advance description of future selections. Also I may reject any volume before or after I receive it, and I may cancel my membership whenever I wish.

For each volume I decide to keep I will send you $2.39, plus a few cents mailing charges. (*Books shipped in U. S. A. only.*)

Mr. / Mrs. / Miss } .....
(Please print plainly)

Address .....
Zone No.

City..... (if any).... State.....

oner by the Germans in 1941 in Poland and sent to a prison camp in Norway. He escaped in 1944 and for two years lived a precarious, lonely life, sleeping in caves and barns in the mountain wilderness of west central Norway. He didn't know the war was over.

UN Society in Brazil

A BRAZILIAN Society of the United Nations has been created under the presidency of Brazil's Foreign Minister, Raul Fernandes.

Progress Below Rio Grande

LATIN American women are steadily winning political rights. Here are some of their recent gains: Mexican

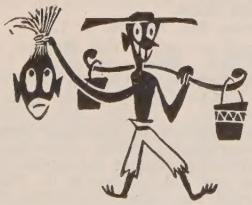
women may vote in municipal elections (*Un World*, Feb.); Peruvian women may vote in municipal elections and may hold any administrative, public, consular, and diplomatic post; and in Venezuela, 12 women were elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Britain's Schoolchildren

ON April 1, the legal school-leaving age in Great Britain was raised from 14 to 15. This reform, originally scheduled for 1939, was postponed so that more young people could go into essential war industries. Britain is taking her youth responsibilities seriously as she presses to achieve a goal of 300-000 school teachers (50 per cent above prewar)—as set forth in the Education Act of 1944.

Burmese Head Harvest

NAGA head-hunters have collected about 315 trophies in Assam since British authority lapsed during the



Japanese occupation of Burma. Now, however, authorities on both sides of the Indian-Burman border are cooperating in preventing further raids.

Hawaiian "Barony"

A "FEUDAL barony on 19th century Scottish lines" exists under the U. S. flag, according to a Senate committee report to the Territorial Government of Hawaii. It is on the island of Niihau, owned outright by a single family, where 60 families of pure Hawaiian blood "must and do live in complete subservience." Ancestors of the present owners bought the island in 1863 from King Kamehameha for $10,000.

Transatlantic Rocket Mail?

A "town of scientists" centralizing all research in supersonic flight is being built in Bedford, England. Some 1,000 of Britain's top air scientists and 4,000 technicians will conduct research experiments there at an estimated cost of $80,000,000. One of the first things the scientists will tackle is the possibility of transatlantic rocket mail controlled by radar. Some scientists forsee transoceanic rocket letters within five years.

English for Japanese

IF Japan had Hooper ratings, one of the high-ranking programs would be the radio course in English conver-

sation. Inaugurated in February 1946 by the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, the language programs are estimated to have about 2 million regular listeners.

Busy Australia

INDUSTRIAL production in Australia has increased 78 per cent since the end of the war. More than 2,000 new factories have been built and 32 government war plants and 220 industrial annexes have been converted to peacetime use. Current negotiations with foreign companies are expected to result in an investment of $18,850,000 in Australian industry.

Larreta Blackout

ARGENTINA'S movie censor is at it again. Awhile back Film Czar Alfredo Bolognesi banned Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden's image from Argentine screens. Now Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, Uruguay's pro-U.S. former Foreign Minister, has been declared unfit to be seen by Argentine eyes.

Putting Languages on Paper

WRITTEN languages have been developed for more than 60 different minor nationalities in the U.S.S.R., largely through the work of Soviet

scientists at the Marr Institute of Language and Thought. In pre-Soviet days a Bashkir or Chukchi youngster, for example, merely talked his way through life—he never learned to read or write. Now he is in line for a dictionary and even a grammar.

Unconquered Everest

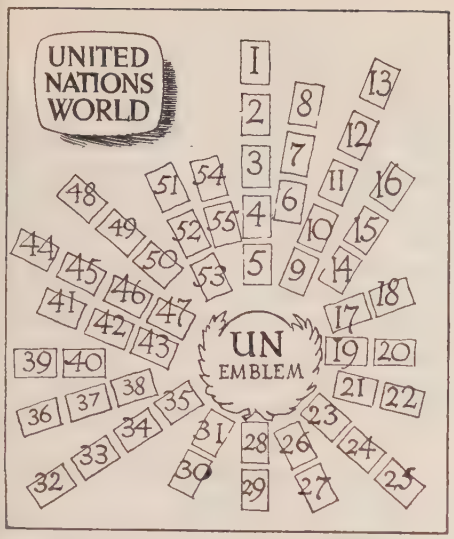
BECAUSE the horoscope of the Dalai Lama shows that the next three years will be a particularly difficult period for Tibet, Captain A. F. ("Bush") Bendidt, leader of a proposed British attempt to scale Mt. Everest, has found it necessary to postpone the expedition until 1950. His plan is to take supplies part way up the unconquered Tibetan mountain by air, thus eliminating the need for large numbers of porters.

Labor Unions in the Gold Coast

TEN thousand Gold Coast workers today belong to 19 trade unions. The British West African colony's unions, still growing in number, were authorized in 1941 by the Gold Coast Government. Union officials from Britain have been appointed members of the colony's Labor Department to help put the legislation into practice. The unions are of the industrial type—as opposed to craft unions.

THE Gold Coast, incidently, has a post office with an unusual past. It is situated in the stone castle of Elmina which was shipped to the Coast from Portugal, in parts, 465 years ago, together with tower, doors and drawbridge, 100 masons to assemble it and a garrison to defend it. Three ships

were needed to transport the castle, which later became a center of the profitable slave trade.



THE above diagram supplies the key to this month's cover showing the flags of the 55 member nations of the UN. Compare the numbers in each box with those below to identify the various flags (flags 1 to 5 are those of the Big Five):

1. U.S.A.; 2. U.S.S.R.; 3. United Kingdom; 4. France; 5. China, 6. Afghanistan; 7. Argentina; 8. Australia; 9. Belgium; 10. Bolivia; 11. Brazil; 12. Byelorussian S.S.R.; 13. Canada; 14. Chile; 15. Colombia; 16. Costa Rica; 17. Cuba; 18. Czechoslovakia; 19. Denmark; 20. Dominican Rep.; 21. Ecuador; 22. Egypt; 23. El Salvador; 24. Ethiopia; 25. Greece; 26. Guatemala; 27. Haiti; 28. Honduras; 29. Iceland; 30. India; 31. Iran; 32. Iraq; 33. Lebanon; 34. Liberia; 35. Luxembourg; 36. Mexico; 37. Netherlands; 38. New Zealand; 39. Nicaragua; 40. Norway; 41. Panama; 42. Paraguay; 43. Peru; 44. Philippines; 45. Poland; 46. Saudi Arabia; 47. Siam; 48. Sweden; 49. Syria; 50. Turkey; 51. Ukrainian S.S.R.; 52. Un. of South Africa; 53. Uruguay; 54. Venezuela; 55. Yugoslavia.

PICTURE CREDITS:

Cover, also drawings on pages** 4-8, **by Kelly Oechsli; page** 12: **drawing by R. Osborn; pages** 16, 17, 18: **Leo Rosenthal,** United Nations World **Staff Photographer; page** 19: **Harris & Ewing; page** 21: **AP; page** 22: **Greek War Relief Ass.; pages** 24, 25: **official UN photo; page** 26: **PA; page** 27: **Gopal Chitra Kuteer-Black Star; pages** 30, 31: **Bettmann Archives, N. Y. Public Library; pages** 32-35: **drawings by Kurt Wiese; page** 36: **Chilean Embassy; page** 37-38: **Acme; page** 39: **Blackstone Studios; pages** 40-41: **map by Applied Graphic Arts; pages** 44, 45: **charts by Graphics Institute; pages** 46-53: **Leo Rosenthal; pages** 54-56: **Simon Gomez, Mexico City; page** 58: **official UN photo; page** 59: **U. S. Government; page** 71: **INP; page** 77: **Coleman. Can. Pac. Rr.; page** 79: **Pix, Acme.

Heard In Our Office

THE 55 UN flags on this month's cover make a gay, neighborly show, with those of the Big Five running up from the center and the others circling clockwise around the UN official emblem in alphabetical order, beginning with Afghanistan. Looks like an easy job, but it wasn't. The subject is all bound round with protocol and whether and how the emblem goes in, which way the flag hangs when and so on. No country is so strict about the etiquette of its flag as the United States, but all of them are pretty sensitive.

Ask our art director, Kurt Safranski. It took him days to get the whole thing straightened out. He started with an old color plate of flags issued by the United Nations Information Office. One of the UN research experts discovered at least fifteen errors in addition to two corrections printed on the lower margin of the plate for Ethiopia and Lebanon. Still uncertain about the flags of several countries, we called their embassies, consulates and UN delegates, rarely getting the same reply from all three. In the case of one small country, the Consul-General thought there should be an emblem in the center of the flag to make it strictly official. He consulted an old book. Sometimes an emblem, sometimes not—such was the unenlightening evidence from that source. Then his eye suddenly lighted on his flag tightly rolled up in a dark corner of the office. He blew off the dust and unfurled it. Yes, there was the emblem. So *that* was settled. Gradually all the fine points were straightened out—we hope. So now may the 55 flags—and the others that join them—wave united until the reds, blues and whites, the yellows, oranges and greens fuse together in a common ground of one for all and all for one.

Skaal!

WE have just received *Världs Horisont*, the first issue of the Swedish edition of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, published in April. Very handsome it is in its bright blue jacket showing the picture we had of Byrnes and Molotov clasping hands and with many articles that have been favorites with our own readers, too. The event was celebrated with a banquet in Göteborg to which the UN representative in Denmark flew as special guest, with the authorization of the Secretary-General. Our congratulations and best wishes to *Världs Horisont*, the first of the international editions. One thing—the Swedish edition of *UNW* will never starve for paper!

Twelve Rules for World Citizens

IT is difficult for us, too, always to live up to the 12 rules for the editorial staff published in our April issue. Certain ways of speech become a habit and one falls into them thoughtlessly. One of the Assistant Secretaries General of the UN pointed out several infringements in last month's issue—such things as "Latinos are always late," and "we," meaning citizens of the U.S. We'll try not to be caught napping again.

We just talked to Mrs. Mercedes Powell Speir, on the staff of American Youth Hostels, Inc., which is associated with the International Youth Hostels in 24 countries. She was so impressed with our 12 rules that they are being reprinted in the summer issue of *The A. Y. H. Knapsack*, sent to all the members. Youth Hostels Inc. is sending 200 young people to Europe this summer to do reconstruction work. Also, its *Knapsack* is circulated internationally, so our 12 rules will get around.

New Honor for Pearl Buck

OUR Pearl Buck has just been made "a member in good standing" of the West Texas Sidewalk Cattlemen's Association of Sweetwater, Texas, undoubtedly the most unique honor ever conferred upon this much honored Nobel prize winner.

Rita Hayworth Is On the Job

ONE of our prettiest propaganda agents, Rita Hayworth, picked up all the UNITED NATIONS WORLDS she could find in Hollywood before she went off to visit U.S. Army camps in Europe. She wired us to have more magazines for her at the port so that she could do some missionary work on the ship, too. What with the magazines, hatboxes and other encumbrances, Miss Hayworth could not negotiate the big boxes of clothes she had collected for American Aid for France. These came to our office and we sent them on for her.

We know a friend of yours at home

Your favorite bank at home may be one of our friends—for the CHEMICAL BANK & TRUST COMPANY maintains direct correspondent relationship with more than 2,000 banks in the following countries . . .

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Canada
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
France
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Lebanon
Liberia
Luxemburg
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Russia
Saudi-Arabia
Siam
Sweden
Syria
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

. . . while you're in New York

the facilities of the following offices are available to you:

BROADWAY
Near Worth Street

TENTH AVENUE
At 23rd Street

FIFTH AVENUE
At 29th Street

BROADWAY
At 44th Street

MADISON AVENUE
At 46th Street

LEXINGTON AVENUE
At 49th Street

ELEVEN W. 51st ST.
Adjoining Rockefeller Plaza

EIGHTH AVENUE
At 57th Street

MADISON AVENUE
At 74th Street

BROOKLYN
50 Court Street

AT LAKE SUCCESS AND FLUSHING MEADOWS
For the exclusive use of the United Nations and those associated with it.

CHEMICAL
BANK
&
TRUST COMPANY
Founded 1824

165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Member, Federal Reserve System
Member, F.D.I.C.

UN Poll on Palestine

WE talked to 48 delegates and high-ranking UN officials from 28 nations and asked for their views on the Palestine problem and for the solution they favored.

All delegates consulted considered the Palestine issue one of the most explosive of all. As one delegate put it: "Palestine is the most important minor problem of the UN."

Here are the results of our private diplomatic poll:

Twenty-nine want the Special Session of the UN General Assembly to limit itself to appointing a fact-finding committee. They consider that it will be impossible for the Assembly to adopt a decision on such an important matter before it has received a complete report based on economic, political, humanitarian and juridical considerations.

Ten favored recommendation of a prompt solution by the Assembly because "the facts are very well known, and there is nothing to be gained by a fact-finding committee."

Nine were undecided.

Twenty-five of those interviewed want to exclude from the fact-finding committee the representatives of interested parties, namely, Britain, the Arabian countries and the Jewish organizations. If, however, the Assembly should decide to include interested parties, then 40 of those interviewed insist that the Jewish Agency of Palestine be included.

Twenty-two of those interviewed favor a recommendation by the Assembly, if the latter should decide to go further than to appoint a fact-finding committee, for increased immigration into Palestine. The number suggested varied from 50 thousand to 150 thousand for the next 2 years.

Thirty-two admit that the situation of the Jewish DP's at German, Austrian and Italian camps is absolutely hopeless, and that their continued presence in the camps constitutes a great injustice. If immigration into Palestine is impossible, these 32 favor an immediate international agreement for distributing the 280,000 Jewish DP's among the various nations.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

VOL. 1, NO. 4
MAY, 1947

CONTENTS

Letters 1

LIFE IN OUR WORLD 4

Heard in Our Office 9
A UN Poll on Palestine 10

STATE OF THE WORLD

Robert Osborn: Cartoon 12
Roundup 13
Palestine Before the UN—Historical Background 15
Moshe Shertok: The Jewish Case 16
Faris el Khouri: The Arab Case 17
Hernan Santa Cruz: A Chilean View on World Affairs 18
Walter Lippmann: The World and UN 19
John Hersey: Alternatives to Apathy 20
Laura Vitray: A Five-year Plan for Greece 22
Achi Rangaswami: The Interasian Conference at New Delhi 26
Miriam St. Georges: World Cookbook 28
Some People Are Always Against—A Picture Story 30
Lin Yutang: The Bull-Headed Premier 32
Duncan Aikman: New Political Leaders in Latin America 36
Crisis of World Economy—*UNW* Map 40
Vincent Sheean: Journalese Regnant 42
Paul B. Sheatsley: John Doe Looks at World Problems 44
René Cassin: The UN Fights for Human Rights 46

STATE OF WORLD ORGANIZATION

Roundup 49

STATE OF WORLD INFLUENCES

Carlos Merída: Young Painters Set the Pace in Mexican Art 54
Calendar of World Events 57
Courtney Anderson and Ruth K. Rivkin: Educational Films 58
World Press 60
World Cartoons 62
World Radio 64
World Bookshelf—Karl Schriftgiesser: Who is Objective? 66

STATE OF WORLD DIPLOMACY 71

WORLD FILES 73

THE NEW TRAVELER

Dorothy Duncan: Canada 77

EDITORIAL BOARD: Richard J. Walsh, *Chairman;* Louis Dolivet, *International Editor;* Pearl S. Buck, William L. Shirer, Fred Smith.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Thomas Mann; Jawaharlal Nehru; Vincent Sheean; Lin Yutang; Jan Masaryk.

OVERSEAS EDITORS: Riccardo Bauer, *Rome;* Gunnar Fagrell, *Stockholm;* Donald Ferguson, *Rio de Janeiro;* Vincent de Pascal, *Montevideo;* Jenaro Fernandez MacGregor, *Mexico City;* Francis Noel-Baker, *London;* Valiquette Rundle, *Shanghai;* Laura Vitray, *Paris; Roving Correspondent, U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe,* Leo Lania; *General Roving Correspondent,* John F. Ennals.

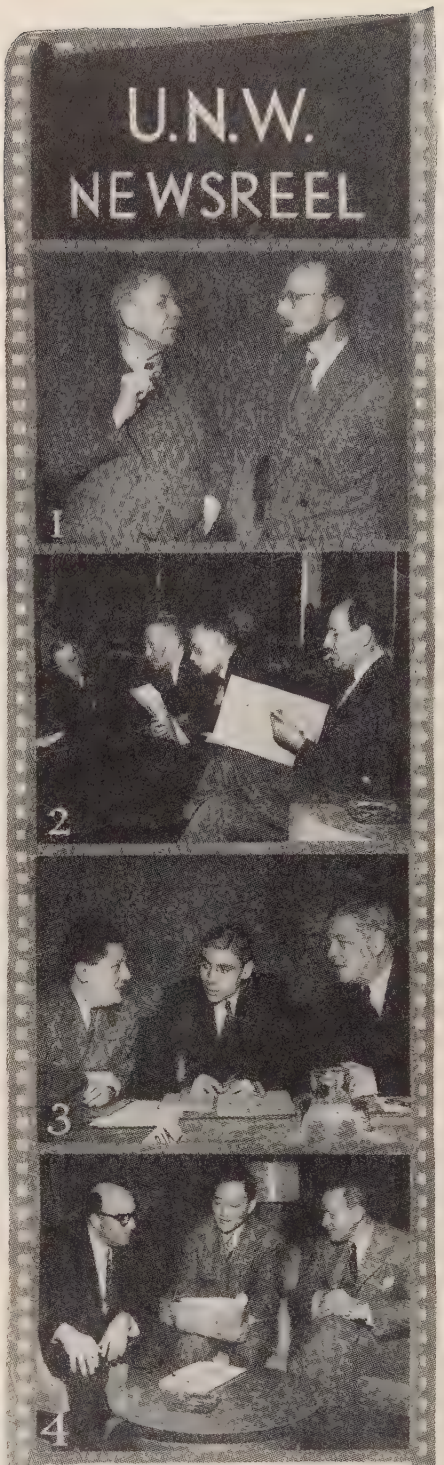
PUBLISHER: Egbert White **MANAGING EDITOR:** Roland C. Gask

News Editor: Alexander S. Trop. *Literary Editor:* Elsie Weil. *Assistant Editors:* Henrietta Gerwig, Josefina de Roman. *Art Director:* Kurt Safranski. *Production Manager:* Pearl M. Steinhaus. *Researchers:* Pamela W. Mitchell, Anne Palmos, Jeanne Washabaugh. *Editorial Secretary:* M. M. Goebel. *Washington Correspondent:* Ladislas Farago. *Hollywood Correspondent:* Ruth K. Rivkin.

Associate Publisher: George B. Sadler. *Advertising Manager:* Richard F. Lyon. *Book Advertising Manager:* H. J. B. Craven. *Advertising Representatives:* Blanchard-Nichols, Inc., 2020 Russ Building, San Francisco, and 448 South Hill St., Los Angeles, Calif.; O. A. Feldon & Associates, 185 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Ill.; John M. Sweeney Company, 176 Federal St., Boston, Mass.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, $1.00. Postage to APO and FPO addresses, free. Single copy price, 35c.

Copyright 1947 by U. N. World Inc., 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
All rights reserved under the Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Union.

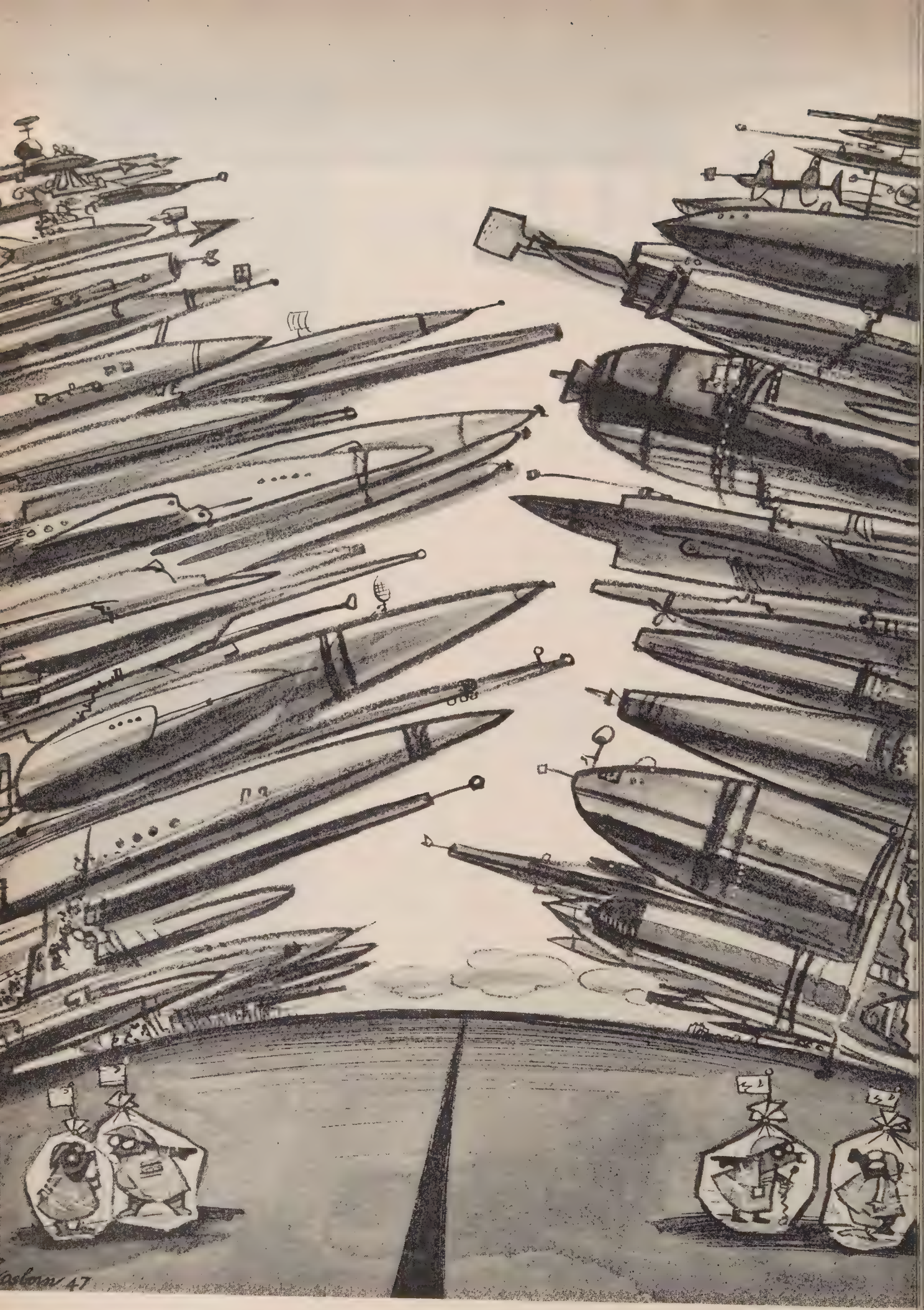


ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION'S WORKING COMMITTEE ON JOB
Top to Bottom
Sir Charles Darwin (left), grandson of author of Origin of Species, *Britain, and Prof. Pierre Auger, France, talk over the Working Committee's agenda.*

Left to right — Alexandre Parodi, France, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Britain, and Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton and G. Ignatieff, Canada, discuss atomic deadlock.

Three physicists (l. to r.), Prof. Ignace Zlotowski, Jamal el-Khourasy, and Prof. V. Skobeltzin, advisers to Polish, Syrian and U.S.S.R. delegations respectively, at meeting of Committee.

L. to r.—Dr. Jacques Errera, Belgium, Dr. Hsion-ren Wei, China and Dr. John Vance, U.S., advisers to their respective delegations, tackle a problem.



Disarmament?

Roundup

In April an uneasy world watched with anxious eyes still another round of what Jan Smuts called the "Battle of the Colossi." The chief diplomatic arena was Moscow, where the conference of Foreign Ministers wound up with the result that most had expected although all had hoped against —failure to solve any of the major problems involved in the German and Austrian peace treaties.

Thus Secretary of State Marshall, fresh from a diplomatic disappointment in China, journeyed to Moscow only to experience yet another. Indeed, the allied diplomats appeared for the time being to have forgotten the art of compromise. In the language of wartime communiques, the conference "proceeded according to plan." Some were inclined to add: "One of our big hopes is missing."

With the failure of the Conference, the German problem, conceded to be the toughest confronting the Foreign Ministers, remains just that—a puzzle that awaits solution. The fact that the gap that separated the East and the West was somewhat narrowed after seven weeks of negotiations was the only encouraging factor bearing on prospects for the next meeting of the Big Four ministers in November.

German Hopes

More interesting than the apathetic reaction of the Western world to the Moscow negotiations was the attitude of the Germans. Well-posted intelligence officers reported that for the first time since VE-day the Germans, too, hoped for a solution rather than an aggravation of the differences. Apparently abandoning hope that the wartime allies will turn against each other to the infinite benefit of the defeated Reich, Germans now pray for some sort of peace with its attendant consolidation and dread a protracted stalemate that is bound to prolong their plight.

Austria, especially, had pinned great hopes on the Moscow Conference. A country both divided against itself and cut in four by the occupying forces, it had hoped that national unity, in the physical and moral sense, would emerge from the negotiations. *Gemuetlich* Vienna was grey with gloom when Foreign Minister Karl Gruber returned home empty handed.

The State of Coalitions

The overall political climate of France continued quiet and calm, despite two significant events which threatened to upset the country's political equilibrium. General de Gaulle made his long-heralded return to the political stage with the formation of his ambiguous *Rassemblement du Peuple Francais,* even while the government was plagued by continued troubles in Indo-China and Madagascar.

Premier Ramadier's position seemed to hang in the balance, but his firm stand on Madagascar gained him Rightist support, while the Left applauded his energetic reaction to de Gaulle's come-back. The coalition of Catholics, Socialists, Radical-Socialists and Communists does not appear in immediate danger. Within it, the Socialists retain the balance of power, providing a Premier acceptable to all, and the Minister of the Interior who has control over the police.

The coalition of Catholics and Socialists in Belgium, however, lives on borrowed time. Since the withdrawal of the Liberals and Communists it has been maintained in power almost solely by the dynamic personality of Premier Paul-Henri Spaak whose domestic prestige is greatly enhanced by his world-wide fame gained as President of the UN General Assembly.

For the first time since its liberation, Belgium shows signs of a mounting economic crisis. This is largely due to an accelerated expenditure of gold reserves in an effort to maintain the present standard of living.

De Gasperi Is "Incredibly Weak"

Italy offers the picture of a country that is perennially on the verge of a Cabinet change. Premier Alcide de Gasperi's government is described even by his closest supporters within and without Italy as "incredibly weak." He tried to rally popular support for his government with an impassioned radio speech in which he blamed his critics for the country's deepening crisis. He also hopes to bolster his position with another $100,000,000 loan which Ambassador Alberto Tarchiano is trying to obtain in Washington.

The first conclusive answer to his pleas came from an unexpected source —and it was largely negative. For the first time in its history of traditional conservativism, Sicily veered to the left in the April elections. On the national scene, the extreme Right was increasing its strength, with support coming from L'Uomo Qualunque, the Church, monarchist groups, and the not inconsiderable remnants of Fascism. Their slogans blame the Left for the harsh terms of the Italian peace treaty.

England in Crisis

The British Government of Prime Minister Attlee is caught in the cross fire between the increasing attacks of the Conservatives and Labor's own back benchers. His Majesty's Loyal Opposition hopes to catch the government off base, provoke an open crisis, and force new elections in the shadow of the difficult economic situation.

The Left-wing of the Labor Party, encouraged by Ernest Bevin's waning popularity, clamors for a change at the head of the Foreign Office to climax the recent cabinet shake-up which assigned to the scholarly Earl of Listowel, as head of the India Office, the thankless task of liquidating Britain's imperial commitments in India.

In India itself, Lord Mountbatten's genial introduction to the Viceroyalty is viewed with some suspicion by liberals who voice no objection to the hero of Burma, but distrust his advisers, General Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mieville, holdovers from Churchill's régime.

Britain hopes to conclude a military alliance with the Nehru Government prior to her withdrawal from India eighteen months hence. Nehru appears to be willing to conclude such an alliance—but only after the British departure.

ASIA

"We function more and more, not only as an independent country, but as a leading country in the world," said Jawaharlal Nehru recently. "Now that we are on the verge of political

freedom, we shall run and bounce toward economic freedom." He again urged the Moslem League to join a round-table conference, saying decisions must be reached soon. Seven Indian States decided to join the Constituent Assembly immediately. The Depressed Classes League voted an emphatic protest against any division of India. The Province of Sind declared that it will become independent when the British go. Bengal nationalists are fearful because the Moslem Ministry is recruiting a police force of Moslems from an outside province and because an organization called the Moslem National Guards is "assuming the character of a private army."

HUAN TANG PU HUAN YOH (Same Medicine, Different Brew). This old Chinese proverb is being flung by many Chinese at their reorganized government. The shake-up of the Chiang Kai-shek cabinet is intended, according to close observers, as a bona fide payment on the promissory note General Marshall left behind for early collection. The Kuomintang hopes that it will be accepted as an adequate collateral for a billion dollar loan which China desperately needs to arrest its disastrous economic crisis.

The Generalissimo was reported to have said that the loan would be used for reconstruction only, and not to finance his fight against the Communists. However, in the same breath, Chiang said that the "armed rebellion" of the Communists must be quelled by force, since "hopes for settlement by political means have been shattered."

Meanwhile the unending feud between the political cliques within the Kuomintang burst into the open. Right-wing elements demanded a strong policy toward Russia and charged Foreign Minister Wang Shi-chieh with "appeasement." Rightist newspapers amazed their readers with bitter attacks against the Government, charging "rampant corruption." There was trouble in Formosa, unrest culminating in bloody riots. Chiang accused the Communists as their instigators, but the *China Press* blamed the Government's "inertia and inefficiency" for the disturbances.

Korea Between East and West

ALTHOUGH the Soviet Union's slightly more conciliatory attitude on the Korean issue held out a glimmer of hope for settlement some time this summer, the country, split between the United States and the U.S.S.R., continued the major bone of contention in the Far East. Determined to make a significant gesture, the State Department studied ways and means for a $200,000,000 loan to Korea, to be patterned after the Greco-Turkish loans. Congressional support was solicited behind the scenes.

The United States strengthened its position in Indonesia, with the granting of *de facto* recognition to the Nationalist Government; and in the Philippines, where it obtained 23 military and naval bases for 99 years.

There were elections in Japan, ending in a victory of many unreformed conservatives. Those who expected Emperor Hirohito to cast the first ballot of his life were disappointed. Only two members of the Imperial family made use of their new Constitutional right to vote.

LATIN AMERICA

PRESIDENT González Videla, of Chile, regarded as a disciple of Leon Blum, proceeded to emulate his idol by forming a "homogeneous government" without the rightist Liberal Party and the Communists. President González Videla took this daring step because of the inability of the three coalition parties to agree and in the knowledge that both the right and the left are bound to support his government in view of growing economic uncertainties and the ambiguity of Chile's relations with Argentina.

Argentina

THE end of Juan D. Perón's first year in the presidency finds him on the crest of the wave. He seems to be well on the way toward packing the country's Supreme Court. Unofficially sponsoring a boycott against anti-Peronist newspapers of international reputation, he hopes to silence all criticism—now heard only in the few remaining papers not yet drawn into the Perón orbit. He is also bidding for wider powers from Congress under cover of the Five Year Plan. Many of these powers affect the hitherto sacred right of private property.

Uruguay

DISTURBED by the present wave of strikes, President Tomás Berreta appears determined to curb Communism in Uruguay "at any cost." Key labor leaders were recently arrested on charges of "agitation"—and more arrests were "promised" unless strikes were called off.

Cuba

THE lid is off in the struggle between the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC) and Auténtico (Government party) labor leaders.

Last February, when Grau appointed Francisco Benítez, reputedly friendly with the Communists, as Minister of Labor following the death of Carlos Ascárate, Auténtico leaders boiled over. Labor rallies were held throughout the island to protest Communist control of the CTC, and the atmosphere grew tense as the date for the CTC spring Congress drew nearer. The night before the Congress an Auténtico leader was killed in a quarrel over Congress credentials. That night irate men raced through city streets in automobiles, taking pot shots at Communist headquarters.

The government suspended the Congress and took over the inspection of credentials. Although most of the delegates went home, new clashes kept cropping up, and the struggle between the two groups is expected to spread as a "Communist" vs. "anti-Communist" political issue.

Guatemala

THE four-party bloc organized in opposition to President Juan José Arévalo has split up. Two of the parties —the Constitutional and Social Democratic—announced that they would suspend their anti-Government activities "to help bring the political situation back to normal." The other two, the Liberal Party and the Party of the Revolution, announced that they would continue to fight Arévalo.

Government circles say the bloc broke up as a result of the failure of its leaders to agree at a meeting held last month to protest against the results of the last congressional elections, won by the pro-Government party.

Dominican Republic

DOMINICANS will go to the polls to elect their next president on May 16, but according to observers, they might as well save themselves the trouble of voting. Everyone expects Rafael L. Trujillo, President of the Caribbean island since 1930, to win hands down. The opposition candidate, say Dominican exiles in New York, is just a stooge set up by Trujillo to give the elections a semblance of opposition.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM BEFORE UN

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

70 A.D.—*Roman legions destroy Jerusalem and the Temple.* The Jewish population disperses, a fraction remaining within what had been the Jewish State. Palestine loses its independent status, never since regained.

636—*Palestine wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire by Moslem Army.* Begins four centuries of Mohammedan rule over a mixed population including desert nomads, Roman veterans, Greeks, Syrians and numerous other groups.

1099—*The Crusader, Godfrey of Bologne, captures Jerusalem.* Less than a century later Salah ed-Din crushes the Latin kingdom, restoring Moslem rule which holds out against the several abortive Crusades of the 12th Century.

1244—*Egypt, allied with the Mongolian invaders, attains dominance.* The Mameluke Sultans of Egypt maintain their rule over Palestine until the early 16th century, despite invasion of the Holy Land by Tamerlane.

1516—*Selim, Sultan of Turkey, assumes rule of Palestine.* Having defeated the Mamelukes in battle, Turkey retains its hold until defeated in the first World War.

1896—*Dr. Theodore Herzl gives detailed definition to prevalent Zionist preachings* with his blueprint for the re-establishment of an autonomous Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. By 1914 the growing Zionist movement has inspired the immigration of an estimated 60,000 Jews.

1917—*Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour issues the historic November 2 Declaration*: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

1919—*The Supreme Allied Council approves the Balfour Declaration* as the basis of a Mandate. Other provisions of the peace settlement with Turkey liberate some 1,000,000 square miles of Arab-populated territory and lead to the establishment of Syria, Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen as Arab states.

1921—*Arab Delegation to Peace Conference lays claim to Palestine* on the basis of the "MacMahon Pledge" made by Sir Henry MacMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, to the Sharif of Mecca in 1915. Sir Henry and other British officials have repeatedly emphasized that the pledge to support attainment of Arab independence specifically excluded the area *west* of a line through Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. Arab rejection of the British interpretation cites the fact that Palestine lies *south* as well as *west* of these countries.

1922—*The League of Nations Council approves the Palestine Mandate allocated to Great Britain* whereby: "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home . . . and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

1924—*American-British Palestine Mandate Convention formalizes American endorsement* of the Mandate, clarifying the situation that had arisen from the United States' failure to ratify the League Covenant.

1929—*First riots since the May Day outbreak of* 1921 *follow religious incitement* regarding Jewish access to the Wailing Wall. Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield, dispatches the Shaw Commission to investigate. The Commission subsequently recommends full investigation of immigration and land policies, saying that adverse economic conditions were a prime factor in the outbreaks. The Passfield White Paper issued the following year applies severe restrictions on further immigration and land purchase by the Jews. Widespread criticism of this alleged retreat from the Mandate brought modification of these restrictions by Prime Minister MacDonald.

1936—*Spring-time rioting of severe violence causing some* 300 *deaths* is followed by an Arab general strike. A Palestine Royal Commission headed by Earl Peel is dispatched "to ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances."

1937—*Peel Commission Report recommends partition of Palestine* and limiting of Jewish immigration to 12,000 annually for a five-year period. For the first time, the neighboring Arab states are invited to take an active role in deliberations on Palestine.

1939—*The MacDonald White Paper declares Palestine independance within ten years* to be the British objective; provides that further immigration of Jews be limited to 75,000 over the next five years, and that the High Commissioner place land acquisition by Jews under strict control. The precise controls formulated in the land transfer regulations issued in 1940 limit to some 5% of the country's area the zones in which Jews may purchase land freely.

The League of Nations Mandates Commission observes "that the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation . . . the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."

1944—*President Roosevelt states* that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939."

1945—*President Truman asks Prime Minister Attlee that* 100,000 *additional immigration* certificates be issued by Great Britain for non-repatriable Jews who wish to enter Palestine. This request, based on an investigation by the U. S. representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees—Earl Harrison—results in an Anglo American Inquiry.

1946—*Anglo-American Inquiry Committee recommends that the* 1939 *White Paper restrictions be revoked,* that immigration of an additional 100,000 Jews into Palestine be immediately arranged, and that development of a higher standard of living for Palestine Arabs be undertaken.

Anglo-American Cabinet Committee appointed to implement the Inquiry recommendations formulates the Morrison-Grady plan, providing for Arab and Jewish provincial autonomy; major powers, including determination of immigration policy, to rest with the central government.

The British accept the Morrison-Grady Plan as basis for negotiations, but Mr. Truman rejects it as totally unacceptable.

Arab-Jewish Conference called by Britain is boycotted by the people of Palestine, both Arab and Jewish.

As a result, the only delegates actually to attend the conference are non-Palestine Arabs. Their "Arab Plan," presented in September, proposes establishment of an independent unitary state by the end of 1948. During the interim period Jewish immigration would be banned and restrictions on land sales to Jews would be maintained. A British-appointed provisional government of seven Arab and three Jewish ministers, subject to the veto of the High Commissioner, would conduct elections for a constituent assembly.

The Arab Plan also prescribes that in the future constitution: any future Jewish immigration must have the consent of the majority of the Arab members of the legislature; Jewish members of latter would be limited to one third of the total membership; freedom of religious practice would be guaranteed.

The failure of this conference is followed by intensified restrictions, terrorism and mass arrests of Palestine Jews.

President Truman cables the British Government that "substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and should begin at once" and that he "would be willing to recommend to Congress a plan for economic assistance for the development" of Palestine. Mr. Truman's cable also urges that "the immigration laws of other countries, including the United States, should be liberalized."

1947—*London Conference resumes,* with the Palestine Arab Higher Commission in attendance, but the discussions prove unsuccessful. *Foreign Secretary Bevin (Feb. 13) announces British decision to refer the Palestine Question to the United Nations General Assembly.* On April 2 the issue was formally submitted to the UN.

ARABS vs. JEWS

BECAUSE of its importance both as a political and ethnical issue of worldwide import and as a test for the UN, the* United Nations World *presents this month a special three-page section devoted to the Palestine problem now under discussion by the Special Session of the UN General Assembly.

On this page we print a complete historical background of the problem. On the following two pages we present exclusive statements by two outstanding Arab and Jewish spokesmen—Faris el Khouri, Syrian delegate to UN, and Moshe Shertok, of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

OPPOSING VIEWS

THE JEWISH CASE

M. Shertok

Political Chief, Jewish Agency for Palestine

THE Palestine problem cannot be properly grasped outside the context of Jewish history or in disregard of present Jewish realities.

The Jews were the only people shaped by Palestine. They alone fashioned Palestine into a country. They alone enjoyed independence in it, and out of their freedom was born their historic contribution to civilization. Today no other people needs Palestine for its homeless sons; no other, without it, will remain stateless; no other has proved capable of making its deserts blossom.

The modern Jewish Return began in 1882. It was formally integrated into the international framework by the victors of World War I. The Arabs were promised independence in vast territories, and the promise was kept. Palestine was earmarked for the Jews and entrusted to Great Britain on condition that Jewish immigration and settlement be encouraged and the pledge of the Balfour Declaration fulfilled.

In 1939 Britain repudiated this obligation. International approval is now sought for that reversal of policy. Is it to be granted?

The need for Palestine among the Jews of Europe and the Orient is more pressing than ever; for "displaced persons" there is literally no other home. They will not go back to their countries of origin nor can they be absorbed where they are; immigration overseas is severely limited and prospects of relaxation are nil. On the other hand, Palestine's potentialities of development have never been more patent. And there alone, is there a community ready and eager to receive the newcomers and give them a fresh start in life, with the help of Jews throughout the world. In rebuilding their individual lives, the refugees will help to solve the problem of the Jewish people whose anomalous position has never been more tragically manifest than as the result of the last war.

A People Without a Voice

THIS anomaly is becoming acutely intolerable. All around Palestine independence is the rule. Palestine is the exception. The Arab World has five seats in the United Nations. The Jews have none. Can there be a phenomenon more abhorrent to elementary fairness than that 55 nations should meet to decide the fate of a people, and that this people alone should be denied a voice?

No Arab State fought in the war. None suffered losses. In some, pro-Nazi rebellions simmered or boiled over. Yet today they share in the fruits of victory.

Of the Jews, over one million served in Allied armies. Out of every four European Jews, three died. In Palestine, 35,000 Jews volunteered for armed service. They defended Palestine. They fought in Africa and Europe. The graves of their fallen are scattered from Libya to Burma and from Eritrea to North Italy. The entire resources of Jewish Palestine were harnessed to the war effort. But today, the survivors in Europe who attempt to cross to Palestine are thrown back by the Royal Navy, and in Palestine a law of racial discrimination limits free Jewish settlement to 5% of the country.

The Arab States, while paying lip-service to the Charter, enforce a racial boycott against goods produced by Palestine Jews. What any member of the UN would have done in their stead, the Jews cannot do. They can neither invoke the machinery of the UN nor use instruments of state power in self-defense.

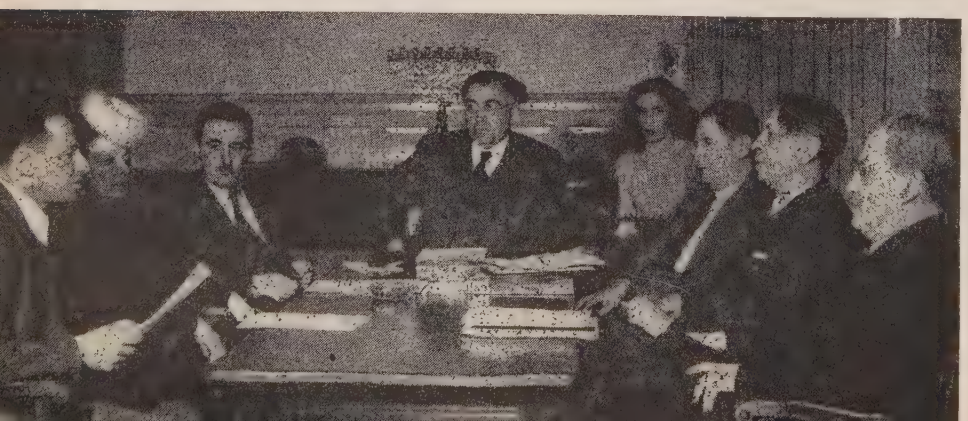
Peaceful Collaboration Possible

UNDER any aspect the position is untenable. The only solution is to reopen the gates to Jewish immigrants, to remove the racial land law, and to establish the Jewish State. That state will be eager to collaborate with its neighbors. Equality of status is essential for true partnership. The fruits of Jewish experiments in agricultural development, in drainage, irrigation, afforestation and soil improvement, in education, coöperative organization, labor legislation and social welfare, in industrial and technological research, in nutrition and health services, will be at the disposal of the entire Middle East. Arab nationals in the Jewish State will enjoy full equality of rights and opportunities. Their safeguard will be inherent in the geopolitical setup; Jewish Palestine will remain forever enclosed among Arab territories, and to live in peace with them will be its vital interest. On a higher plane of social and economic progress the seemingly conflicting political aspirations will be harmonized.

This is the issue before the UN. To ignore the historic necessity for a Jewish State is to fly in the face of realities. To neglect its creative possibilities is to miss a unique chance of progress. To fight terrorism without a change of policy is to combat the hideous symptoms of a disease without attacking its pernicious roots. To try by force to arrest the process of the Jewish Return is to oppose the most powerful urge in man: the will to live.

JEWISH LEADERS MAP STRATEGY

Members of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine Executive prepare campaign for UN General Assembly. Seated at table (l. to r.) Arthur Lourie, Director of the Agency's New York Office; Mrs. Rose Halperin; Moshe Shertok, Head of the Agency's Political Department; Dr. Aba Hillel Silver; Dr. Nahum Goldman; Dr. Hayim Greenberg; Emmanuel Neuman.



ON PALESTINE

THE ARAB CASE

F. Khouri

Syrian Delegate to UN

SEVEN fully independent and sovereign states of the Arab League, numbering some 50 million people, today appeal to world opinion for redress against the unjust, illegal and aggressive disregard of their sovereign rights as expressed by the Balfour Declaration and the Act of Mandate implementing that Declaration, covering Palestine. We contend that the basic principles giving rise to the present situation were a violation from the start of the prerogatives of our people to self-determination, first guaranteed them under the Covenant of the League of Nations, later confirmed in the Charter of the United Nations.

We further allege that the obligations of the United Kingdom under the terms of the Mandate are in direct conflict with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations—just as they previously also contradicted the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant.

Though these seven States of the Arab League—five of them members of the United Nations—today enjoy complete independence, there remains a country very dear to the Arabs, which occupies a strategic location in their midst. This state is Palestine, southern part of Syria, from which it was torn through Zionist ambition and the injustices prevailing immediately after World War I, to be placed under Mandate over the protests of Arabs in all lands. As a result of these injustices, some six to 700 thousand Jewish immigrants of various nationalities have been forcibly introduced into Palestine up to today.

The Arabs can remain patient no longer in the toleration of this evil. Now that the United Nations Organization has been established on the principles of self-determination, and the rights of peoples in their own lands—principles we are ready to defend to the utmost—it is necessary these wrongs should be righted, and the government of Palestine be returned to its own people.

Three Arab Demands

TO this end we present three demands:

1.—Return to the status quo of 1920—that is before the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. Part of such a return will necessitate revision of the citizenship status of the present Jewish population;

2.—Immediate termination of the British Mandate;

3.—The unconditional independence of the Palestine State.

These are not unjust demands, made in a spirit of adamant intransigence. We have previously made conciliatory offers for the creation of a democratic state within the framework of independence. These offers, made during the recent London conferences on Palestine, were far-reaching. They effectively guaranteed the religious minority full recognition and protection of its democratic rights to proportional representation in both legislative and executive councils of the independent sovereign State of Palestine. These offers were ignored, though they were made in good faith. Today the Arabs no longer consider themselves bound to their fulfillment.

As all civilized persons must, we recognize the terrible plight of the Jews in Europe today—a plight, incidentally, which is not of Arab making. But we cannot admit of a solution to their problem which is predicated, as the Zionists would have it, on the ousting from its homes of an Arab population to make room for immigration of homeless peoples from other lands. In the war just finished, the peoples of the United Nations destroyed once and for all the curses of nazism and fascism, to restore Democracy where it had been deposed. Is there any valid reason, therefore, why the millions now aspiring to their Zionist State, should not instead return to their former homes to live in peace? Particularly when their claims rest on neither material nor moral justification?

Negotiations in 1899

FOR no one should forget that Palestine has been for ages, and should continue to be, an Arab land, a patrimony the Arabs have the obligation to defend to their utmost. In this connection it is profitable to remember the words of Sultan Abdul Hamid to Dr. Herzl in the course of negotiations the latter had in 1899 with the Turkish Government for the immigration of Jews into Palestine and the establishment there of a national home. "Advise Dr. Herzl," he said, "to take no further steps in this matter [of an offer of millions in sterling for the grant of land]. I cannot alienate a single square foot of land, for it is not mine but my people's . . . who fought for and fertilized it with their blood. Let the Jews keep their millions . . ."

If the Ottoman Sultan, who was absolute ruler, gave such a resolute reply to the founder of Zionism, how absurd it is today for any outsider to give positive promises against the property of others!

I do not for a moment believe that the United Nations Organization will pass any resolution so far removed from justice and reason, and the principles and purposes of the Charter, as would, through ignoring these facts, willingly disturb peace in the Holy Land. I pray God this is so. But if it should, let those who, in ill-placed generosity, would give away something not theirs to give and thus drive a wedge into the heart of the Arab Fatherland, also remember that 50 million Arabs are determined to oppose such injustice by all means at their disposal. They may thus put a term to their ephemeral generosity, at least for the sake of peace in the Holy Land.

ARABIAN SPOKESMEN IN CONFERENCE

(L. to r.) Camille Chamoun, Lebanese official; H.R.H. Amir Faisal al Saud, Chairman of Saudi Arabian Delegation to the UN Special Assembly; Faris el Khouri, Syrian Delegate to UN.

Exclusive Interviews: HERNAN SANTA CRUZ

Chilean Ambassador to UN

ONE of the youngest diplomats to be appointed a permanent delegate to the UN, Hernan Santa Cruz, 40, has represented Chile since January this year. Most of his life the Ambassador has taught military procedure, and he has served as secretary to the Superior Military Court of Chile. His real interest however, has always been international affairs. As president of the Chilean-Brazilian Institute of Culture and member of the Chilean Office for Intellectual Co-operation, Santa Cruz enjoyed an excellent preparation for his present high office.

Q. Mr. Ambassador, as a member of the Economic and Social Council, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the United Nations?

A. It is difficult for me to separate my role of member of the Economic and Social Council from that of observer of other sections of the United Nations. I feel optimistic, even though the results have not been as satisfactory as expected. In my opinion, up to now the organization has not shown the authority toward all countries (even the more important ones) anticipated by the far-seeing minds who conceived it. But I am optimistic because I think one has to be. I cannot see any better guarantee for peace than effective action by the UN, based on the great ideals which gave it life.

As far as the Economic and Social Council is concerned, I think it has made effective progress in the task entrusted to it by the Charter.

Q. In your opinion, what urgent measures might be taken to reestablish the trust existing between the peoples of the United Nations and their governments during the war?

A. Mankind has not yet achieved the moral development or the civilization needed to behave in times of peace as it does when faced by great demands and great danger. It is impossible to believe that in a world guided by all kinds of interests, the understanding existing during the war can be easily achieved. Besides, in times of stress, it is the idealistic, unselfish men, the men with a vision of the future, who lead the rest. Once the danger is over, those whose sole objective is their self-interest come up again, renewing their efforts to put that interest above humanity's.

The peoples of the world must adopt a policy of true solidarity, especially in the economic field. The initiative rests, first of all, with the great powers who control most of the world's economy.

Q. Do you think that the Economic and Social Council should establish an economic committee similar to the Military Committee so that the machinery for economic sanctions against a possible aggressor would be ready?

A. Studying or preparing sanctions is not among the specific functions of the Economic and Social Council. On the contrary, its function is to "create the conditions of stability and welfare necessary to establish peaceful relations among the nations." Everything related to coercive measures is the province of the Security Council. However, Article 65 of the Charter provides that the Economic and Social Council "may furnish the Security Council with such information and aid as it may request." According to this provision, the moment might come when the Council, at the request of the Security Council, might have to study the kind of committee mentioned.

Q. Mr. Ambassador, what do you think are the fundamental hopes of the Chilean people?

A. As a distinguished South American statesman said, my country "vigorously cultivates democratic institutions, the fluid use of civil liberties, and true respect for man's spiritual sovereignty." The present hope of Chile is to develop industrially, becoming economically independent. Its assets for this are completed technical surveys, numerous technicians, and invaluable natural resources like coal, electric energy, iron, copper, petroleum, lumber, etc. It needs international co-operation in the form of capital and, especially, machines and a rational organization of its foreign trade. The present government, made up of young men with modern and progressive ideas, is determined to achieve this. The recent treaty with Argentina, to be followed by others with neighboring countries, leads to this objective. President González Videla has insistently repeated that his principal objective is to create conditions enabling the country to change from a raw material producing country to an industrial one. He thinks that only in this way can the standard of living be raised. 'I want,' he has said, 'to turn this advanced political democracy into a true economic and social democracy.'

Q. What is your opinion of the Moscow Conference and Germany's future? What guarantees do you think the Allies should have so that Germany cannot again be in a position to commit acts of aggression?

A. It is difficult to answer that question in a few words. I think it is extremely difficult to find an equitable measure which will guarantee peace for all of Germany's neighbors, especially France, which has lived so long in fear of attack from the east, and which will at the same time conserve German economy so that the people may live as they have a right to do. I think that the ideal thing would be to foster, in an intelligent manner, the necessary change in the German mentality toward a different concept of international life, meanwhile keeping an eye, through international control, on its industrial development so that it will not serve to create new instruments of aggression.

WALTER LIPPMANN

Outstanding American Analyst

"The Atlantic Community and the Russian Orbit are the two main power centers of our time," says Walter Lippmann. "Out of the balance of power of these vast conglomerations of states a stable world order must develop."

Walter Lippmann is in favor of UN, but he says that it must reconcile itself to power politics and to regional divisions. Instead of trying to weaken the Russian Orbit, Mr. Lippmann suggests that the U.S. should concentrate on consolidating the Atlantic Community, including Greece and Turkey, which he regards as the easternmost fringes of the latter.

EVER since the Versailles Peace Conference, when Walter Lippmann advised President Wilson on the formulation of his famous Fourteen Points, his writings have been considered—both in the U.S. and abroad—as the most important comments on American foreign policy.

When we went to see him to get his views of the present world situation, he said with a wistful smile: "I am merely a writer with an acute international anxiety neurosis."

What worries Lippmann today has formed his main concern since 1919—namely, the fear that the brutal realities of power politics would not be grasped by the U.S. Lippmann gave this interview in the impressive library of his Washington home opposite the unfinished structure of the National Cathedral.

At 58, in frail physical shape, Mr. Lippmann possesses undiminished intellectual agility. He listens carefully to questions and formulates his answers with intense rapidity.

Q. Mr. Lippmann, what do you consider the greatest impediment to the solution of post-war problems?

A. Undoubtedly our failure to be realistic about the facts of international life is the greatest obstacle to the building of a new world order. There is nothing that can be gained by shutting our eyes to these facts. Power politics and the balance of power are such facts, but they continue to frighten our diplomatic moralists. We cannot deny their existence and influence without doing infinite damage to ourselves or running the risk of postponing indefinitely the solution we all seek. They are like the climate. We may not like the weather, but there is little we can do about it beyond adjusting ourselves to its influence.

Because we are so woefully unrealistic, we are inclined to overlook a cardinal fact. The war is over, but we have no peace yet. Peace never follows in the wake of war. Rather it is an era of pacification during which the war is continued by other means. The era of pacification, this present era, is characterized by large-scale maneuvers of the great powers for positions to establish a balance of power for the peace to come.

Q. In 1944, you developed the idea of international cooperation along regional lines, the concept of the Great Communities. Have recent events altered your philosophy?

A. On the contrary, they merely confirmed it. The power balance that was merely a mirage in 1944 is a reality today. On the one side we have the Atlantic Community. On the other we have the Russian Orbit. In the past we ignored and neglected them at our peril. But they are no longer mere figments of the imagination. We can no longer ignore or neglect them.

The relative position of these Communities represents the balance of power out of which a stable world order must eventually develop. The problem of this world order is insoluble if we seek to constitute it out of 60 or more individual nations. It is soluble, I contend, if the world order is composed of the great regional constellations of states. I do not mean to imply that the Atlantic and the Russian regions are not interdependent. They are. Whether there is to be a third World War in our generation depends upon whether members of the Atlantic Community come to rest within their orbit, the Russians in theirs, and whether they then concert their policies toward Germany and Japan.

Q. Does this concept represent a negation of the United Nations?

A. Not if the United Nations, too, is founded on a realistic appraisal of the world order. As long as it attempts to combine all states without regard to the divergent interests and currents within the parallel orbits, as long as it denies the existence of power politics and the trends which make for a continuous balancing of power, it cannot hope to become an effective instrument of world peace. The United Nations, like ourselves on the one side and the Russians on the other, must reconcile itself to the regional division of powers, and provide for a tranquil equilibrium which the basic balance entails. I am a firm believer in the United Nations, but refuse to accept it at its present face value, with its ephemeral attempts to gloss over the realities manifest to all who have the courage to recognize the division of interests along regional lines.

Q. What should then be the relations of the United States, first, with other members of the Atlantic Community, and, second, with members of the Russian Orbit.

A. This is the definite question that the makers of policy have to decide. The rest is negotiation, legislation, ad-

(Continued on Page 80)

ALTERNATIVES TO

By JOHN HERSEY

'Way off in the distance, says John Hersey, there are sounds of boulders sliding —the sounds of possible conflict. Can the ordinary citizen do anything about it? Hersey answers yes—and tells how.

This is the first article to appear in the United Nations World by John Hersey, who, we are happy to announce, has now become a regular contributing editor. In subsequent issues, Hersey will examine exclusively for* UNW *the activities of various American organizations devoted to international affairs and will deal also with other international problems as they come up.

Is a man of any use against an avalanche? What can an ordinary citizen do against what he believes to be a trend toward war? Can he do anything but defend himself with tremendously thick battlements of apathy? Higher up on the mountain, right now, there are sounds of boulders sliding: what should one man do alone?

There are some quite specific things that he can do. They are small things. Doing them may not seem to accomplish anything. But the man who does these things will have a sense that he is participating; that he is not just watching; that he lives in the community of those who want peace, no matter how divided, helpless, and even hopeless that community sometimes seems, and that he is not alone, and really without hope, outside the community; that he is trying to be a citizen of the world. Far more important, the man who does these things can hope that his efforts, together with those of others who think alike and act, will have a real political effect. In such urgent days as these, that is a very great hope—and the only hope.

Here are ten minimal things that can be done, and that, once done, will suggest scores of others:

No Alternative to UN

1. *Assume that there is no alternative, for now, to the UN.* The UN is functioning. It has weaknesses, and efforts must be made as soon as possible to correct them; but the fact is that UN exists. It is the only piece of international machinery that does, or is likely to, exist. There are many people who—seeing the Axis countries scarcely more democratic than at the times of their defeats, peace treaties unformed, atomic energy still a factor for distrust rather than for hope, lend-lease dead, trusteeship far from settled, displaced persons still displaced and in concentration camps—have begun to give up all faith in any kind of international organization.

This questing is reinforced by the recent tendency of the United States to waver in foreign policy between acting unilaterally and acting through the UN. In 1946, it was the Soviet Government which principally limited and hindered the competence of UN; but now the United States seems to be taking its own tack. On the other hand, toward the close of the Conference, Secretary Marshall suggested that issues of the Austrian treaty, on which the Big Four were at an impasse, might be submitted to the General Assembly of the UN.

The Truman Doctrine was given reference to UN, by the Vandenberg rider, only after it was announced; on April 8, Secretary Marshall gave the Soviet government notice that unless Russia and the United States could cooperate in Korea, the United States would proceed with its own policy in the southern zone of that country; a similar suggestion that Britain and the United States might proceed independently in Germany has come out of the Moscow Conference. The UN must be fortified so that circumventions would not be necessary, so that equitable solutions, like the one achieved in Iran through the UN, might also be reached in Korea, Greece and elsewhere, and perhaps so that the peace treaties themselves might be at least partly thrashed out in the UN. There is obviously no alternative, for long-standing peace, to an international organization.

The UN Charter

2. *Know exactly what the UN is.* Having made the above assumption, it is essential to have a clear picture of the structure, aims, authority and limitations of UN. The first step is to get a copy of the UN Charter, and read it.

Students of World Organization

3. *Join a group devoted to the study of world organization.* There are many such groups all over the world, and they are all growing fast. The broadest of them, representing an amalgamation of a number of previous smaller organizations, is the United World Federalists; but there are many others, such as the American Association for the United Nations, the Middletown Movement, the Norwalk Petition, the Quota Force Plan.

It is important that these organizations should have international connections, as otherwise their deliberations are likely to take on national biases and policies. The United World Federalists, with affiliations in ten countries, and the American Association for the United Nations, with connections in twenty-four, have taken the lead in this direction. Other important organizations which are devoting an increasing amount of their efforts to international affairs are the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the CIO and the AFL, Rotary, and religious groups of all three major denominations. The program of the United World Federalists is one to which almost everyone can subscribe:

> *"We believe that peace is not merely the absence of war, but the presence of justice, of law, of order —in short, of government and the institutions of government; that world peace can be created and maintained only under world law, universal and strong enough to prevent armed conflict between nations.*

APATHY

Therefore, while endorsing the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a world community favorable to peace, we will work primarily to strengthen the United Nations into a world government of united powers adequate to prevent war and having direct jurisdiction over the individual in those matters within its competence."

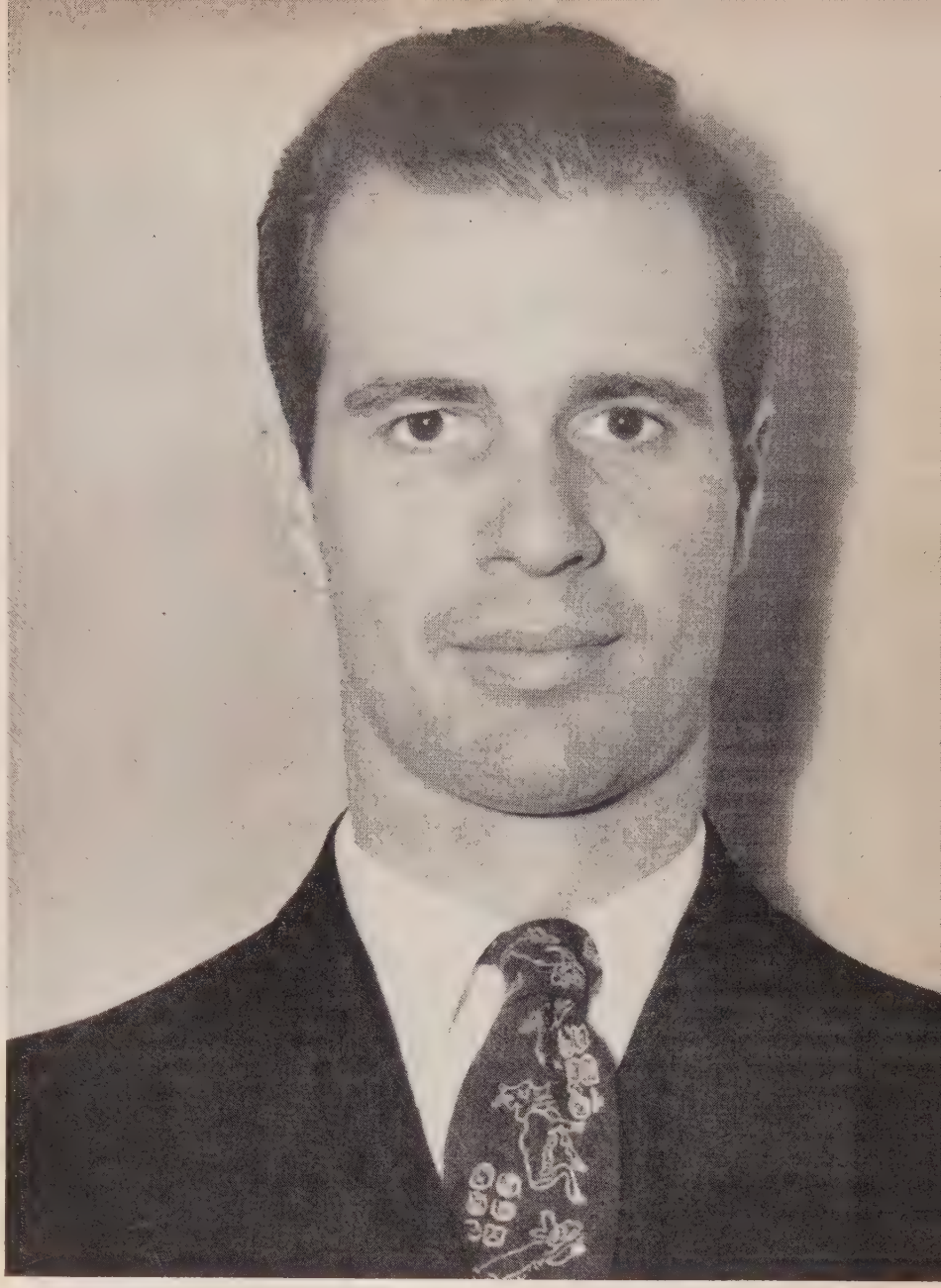
THE disagreements on tactics and even on principles between these various organizations are, in a way, healthy, for the vigor and persistence of the disagreements along with the obviously common aim, show that these organizations do represent the first signs of world parliamentarianism.

Ten Vital Books

4. *Be well informed.* Beyond newspapers and magazines, there are a number of books which give essential background on why a world organization is necessary, on UN itself, and on what might be achieved. Elsewhere in this article is a tentative, basic list of books, recommended not in advocacy of all their arguments, but to stimulate thinking.

UN's Need for Real Authority

5. *Study, and advocate, improvements in the UN organization.* With the above groundwork, and in collaboration with whatever organization he has joined, the citizen is now ready to study the basic changes in UN which are necessary to give it real authority. Article 108 of the Charter provides for amendments to the Charter, if passed by two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the member nations of UN, including all the Big Five; and Article 109 provides for a review conference to study changes. Obviously the sooner such a conference is convened, the better. As minimum changes, the citizen will desire that the Charter should be revised so as to implement the Charter's own Preamble. Here are half a dozen changes that have been put forward as basic:



a. *A system of law to define and govern acts of aggression.*
b. *Universal disarmament, supervised by UN.*
c. *A world military force, more powerful than any possible combination of national forces.*
d. *A provision effectively preventing secession.*
e. *Provisions making the laws concerning aggression applicable to individuals as well as nations.*
f. *Criminal courts to execute the laws.*

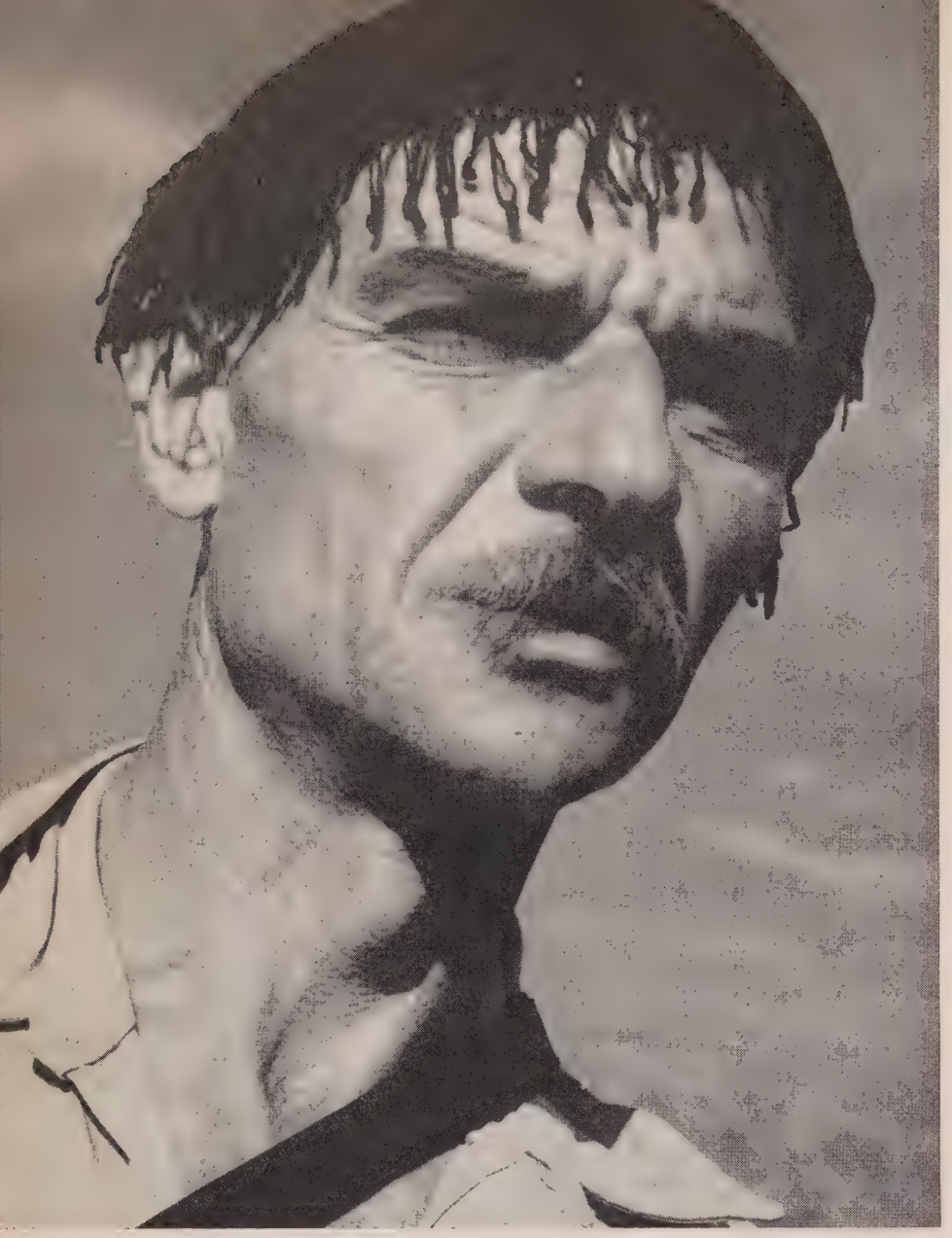
Outstanding World Needs

6. *Have a program for UN.* Even before UN is strengthened, there are some essential steps that the citizen will presumably advocate. Here are some steps which constitute a beginning:

a. *An agreement on full control*

(*Continued on page* 75)

The Author: John Hersey, at 32, is known internationally as a news correspondent, analyst of world affairs, and author. His *Hiroshima*, to which the *New Yorker* devoted an entire issue, not only created a sensation but gave new insight into the forces released by modern war. *Into the Valley* and *A Bell for Adano* were called "imperative" reading by the War-time Books Council, and the latter was seen as a play on Proadway. Born in China, the son of American missionaries, Hersey graduated from Yale and then, while taking postgraduate work in Cambridge, England, determined to get a job on that "liveliest of journalistic enterprises," *Time*. Sure enough, he achieved his purpose. It was during World War II that Hersey became "world conscious"— meaning by that, we take it, something more than just knowing six or seven languages or surviving airplane accidents in various seas (in the Pacific his precious notes made on Guadalcanal bobbed on the water although fortunately just near enough to grab) or working in a dozen-odd countries as a correspondent.



Courage and resourcefulness, typical Greek qualities that characterize this soldier's face, are the kind of assets the Greeks need now to fight their economic battle.

A FIVE YEAR PLAN *for* GREECE

By LAURA VITRAY

Greece needs a minimum of a billion dollars for reconstruction alone, outside of military expenditures. The Greek Government intends to ask—exclusive of the American $250 million—for a long-term loan of $300 to $500 million from the International Bank.

Many prominent people in Greece fear that too much of the American aid may be used for military purposes, instead of reconstruction.

In the following exclusive report, our special correspondent, Laura Vitray, former Sunday Editor of the* Washington Post *and Associate Editor of* McCall's *magazine, tells how Greek leaders propose to put their country on a sound basis.

ATHENS

A FIVE-YEAR Plan for rebuilding this nation's economy was agreed upon by the Greek Government and the American Economic Mission while it was in Athens, Government spokesmen have revealed to this writer. The plan in most respects is identical with one submitted some time ago behind closed doors to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and recently approved by the UN Assembly. However, some important changes have been made during the conference with the American advisers.

The plan is in reality the first in a series which may require 20 years to realize. Behind it stands an untold story of Greek resistance. Throughout the Nazi occupation a group of outstanding economists, engineers and architects of the Technical Chamber of Greece met secretly to prepare the basic studies and the integrated blueprint for restoring their nation out of the postwar chaos they foresaw. Their purpose looked beyond emergency needs of the Greek population to a complete revision of agriculture, industry and commerce, to lift the country out of the penury it had always known. The program they drew up is non-political and today it has the support of leaders of many persuasions.

The plan was outlined to me by Alexander Verdelis, who represented the Government in UN discussions and in talks with the Economic Mission; by Dr. Petros T. Couvelis, President of the Reconstruction Board, and others. They emphasized strongly that the problems of Greece cannot be solved cheaply, and that the $250,000,000 proposed aid from the United States, probably includes not one penny for the reconstruction job. This view was also taken by C. A. Doxiadis, eminent architect and director of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

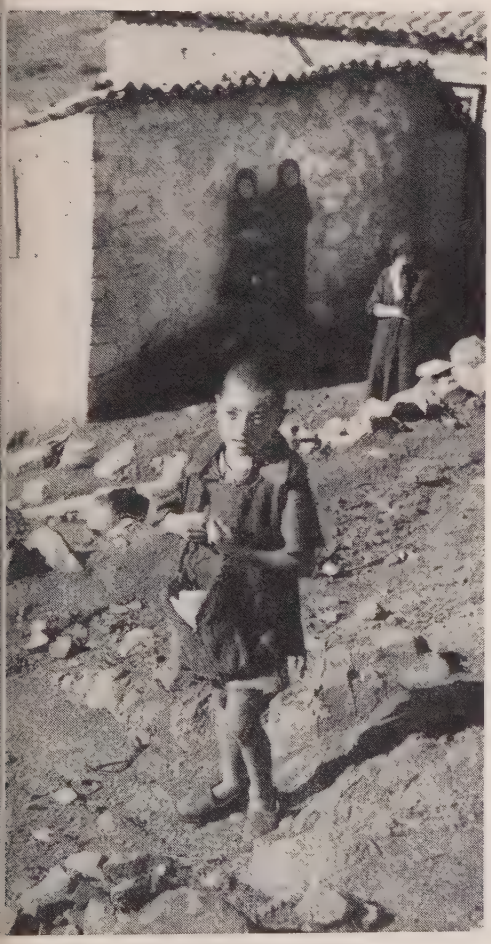
Among liberal leaders such as these, and even among rightist members of the Government, there is agreement on certain fundamentals: 1 — that armed might cannot save Greece from guerrilla warfare, nor from enemies within or without, in the absence of measures which put her people back to work; 2—that the Greeks single-handed cannot prime their economic pump, though they can help; 3—that the stop-gap of emergency relief will always be needed until this population of 7,000,000 who have suffered famine and outrage under the Nazis are able to become self-supporting.

The best thinking here in Athens is to the effect that the United States should not play a lone hand permanently in Greece, and that America is acting wisely in regarding her present help rather as a preparation for wider UN aid. There is conviction here that time was lacking for the working out of emergency measures under UN. But it is felt that the Five-Year Plan already approved by the United Nations must not be scrapped in favor of any American-made plan, however good. Also, it is pointed out that there is opportunity to cooperate with the specialized UN agencies already here, such as the World Health and the Food and Agriculture organizations. There is some doubt as to whether the broad scope of Greek reconstruction requirements is fully understood in the United States, or the vital truth that these requirements can only be met by collaboration on an international basis.

Two Billions Needed

THE first Five-Year Plan calls for the investment over the five-year period of $2,169,932,000 in agriculture, transportation, power plants, industry and mining, and in the rebuilding of 1,300 villages the Nazis burned. A little over half the sum may be squeezed from the domestic economy as it improves. The five-year requirements in foreign financing are itemized as follows:

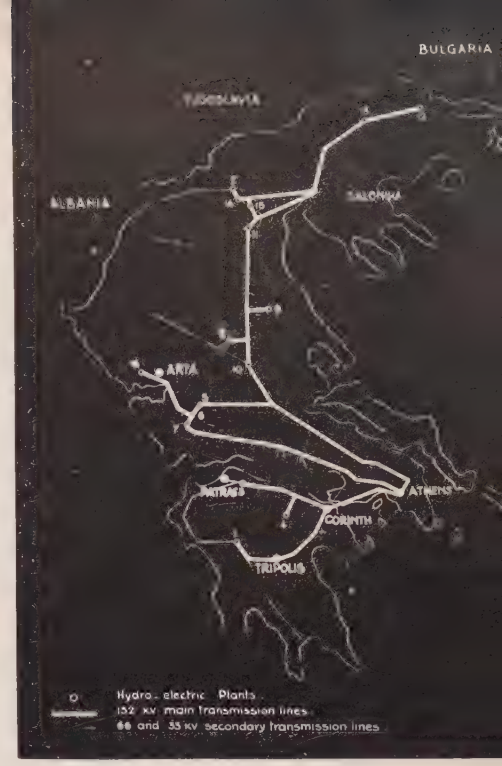
Communications (Roads, rail and motor transport, sea and air transport, telecommunications)	$265,177,700
Water Economy	70,886,200
Power Economy	75,244,400
Agriculture, Stock farming	181,727,000
Mines, Industry	148,790,000
Fisheries	5,279,000
Tourism	9,517,000
Housing	196,410,000
Total	$953,031,300



Too young to know any other condition, this waif takes misery as a matter of course. His lot can be improved under the plan.

Of the American aid expected at this time, the planners state that $175,000,000 will be needed to cover the balance of payments for 1947, if the Greeks are to import the food they need to continue eating after UNRRA supplies are exhausted. Under-Secretary of State Clayton reported the military figure to the U. S. Congress as $150,000,000 (British costs of maintaining troops here ran to $240,000,000 annually.) In spite of U. S. State Department figures listing items for Greek reconstruction, road repair, etc., the consensus of expert opinion here is that no such items are covered in the sums now included in the American aid budget. Many liberals here regard the military figures as far too high. They characterize the British Army as an octopus that hampered economic and political recovery by its very presence and created a fear of investment while the situation was unstable.

All the same, Verdelis underlined the difficulty of lifting the nation out of its economic paralysis unless security of life and limb can be established. The need would appear to be for proper policing rather than for preparations for war. It is true that at present there is a steady exodus of peasants and workers afraid to remain in regions where there is fighting. This reduces the food supply and prevents operation of mines and factories. Yet the news of U. S. help has caused a great lift of spirits in Greece, and the prospect of employment through reconstruction already is serving to minimize the trend toward the urban centers.



Greek plan for a national high-tension grid, showing proposed power stations and lines. (Prepared for *U. N. World* by George Pezopoulos, technical adviser, Greek Govt.)

Olive Oil for Reconstruction?

GREEK leaders are deeply anxious to see the reconstruction program in first place on the agenda, and they hope there will be funds to get it under way. American thinking in this regard shows a difference of viewpoints. An American economist who was associated with the work of the Porter Mission in Greece told me the United States will insist on Greece financing the reconstruction program by exporting her olive oil and importing American cotton seed oil. He placed olive oil production at 100,000 tons a year, of which 75 per cent is consumed domestically. He cited olive oil as worth $2,000 a ton, cotton seed oil $450, and said Greece could realize a net profit of $75,000,000 annually after transportation had been paid.

Objections to this in Greece are both psychological and political. Olive oil is the one fat the people have had in their tragically poor diet. The loss of this national food item would cause widespread despair. It is believed they will hoard it away when they hear it is to be exported. Yet Foreign Minister

Tsaldaris assured me the effort will be made. He set at a possible $50,000,000 the foreign credits that might possibly thus be realized. Couvelis, Verdelis and others thought it would not be more than $15,000,000, because of the difficulty of collecting the oil, which the Germans were not able to obtain even with machine-guns. But Tsaldaris also declared that the burden of maintaining a modern military force will be much higher than American estimates, and doubted whether, even with an added $50,000,000 from President Truman's special fund, Greece could do more than balance her payments in 1947, unless she has help from other sources as well.

Since the American aid will not suffice for reconstruction, Greece is asking the International Bank for a long-term loan of from $300,000,000 to $500,000,000. Tsaldaris, like the others interviewed, emphasized the urgency of embarking on the Five-Year Reconstruction Plan, and stated bluntly that if for any reason it were by-passed for some other approach to a solution of Greek problems, the result would be great confusion in seeking help internationally.

"The Greeks can help themselves," he added, "but without foreign aid in reconstruction it will take us 20 years to become self-supporting. At present a million Greeks are without a roof. I agree with those who say that Greeks would not join the guerrilla bands if jobs could be offered them, if they had homes and food. Reconstruction is therefore our Number One problem. Americans are making no financial provision for it now. But I am not worried. Once they come here I am sure they will see for themselves and help us do the job!"

Something of the trouble the Greeks face is epitomized in the story told to members of the American Economic Mission by Doxiadis. It is the story of Nicholau Cambas, who in the period between the World Wars had a small tile factory in a northern town. With his one machine he was able to turn out 1,000 tiles a day, and thus meagerly support his wife and four children. Then came the war. Like all Greeks Nicholau fought to hold back the invasion tide, and later served in the Resistance. During the occupation his family suffered many misfortunes. Their small house was looted; they nearly died of famine. The factory was partially destroyed when the Nazis bombed the village in reprisal for Resistance activities. The tile machine was patched up, but after the war could turn out only 600 tiles a day, though the cost of living in Greece had risen astronomically.

Still, Nicholau Cambas was overjoyed to be free of the Nazis, and confident that he and his sons could make a go of it. Now the younger, Potis, impatient with hunger, talks of running off and joining the guerrilla fighters; and the elder, Yannis, who disagrees with him, threatens to become a member of a royalist band. Nicholau is fast losing hope. Some say the war is over, but he cannot understand this new agony.

That story symbolizes Greece today, where infinite misery has proved a fertile soil for strife. Greece went through the horror of civil war in December 1944; and brother is still fighting brother in the north. Whether or not there is help for the guerrillas from beyond Greek borders, *all* Greeks will tell you that the fighters are predominantly Greeks, and that the flames of hatred are chiefly fanned by starvation and every form of want.

Greece Was Always Poor

THE central problem of Greek recovery is to change these basic conditions. It is not an easy thing to do. In making a plan, the fact had to be faced that Greece was a good deal like Nicholau Cambas: it had always been poor. Even before the war it had had a painful struggle to support its population. The country is mountainous, with a scant 20 per cent of arable soil; its industries have always been undercapitalized. A prewar national income of $55 per head as compared with $600 in the United States left little over to be reinvested either in improved agriculture or in expanded enterprise. Every year thousands of Greeks were obliged to emigrate. Every year there was a deficit in the Greek balance of payments, because the tobacco, currants, olive oil, wine and minerals shipped abroad were insufficient to pay for the wheat, meat and fish, rice and sugar the Greeks had to import.

Greek natural resources include important mineral deposits, some highly interesting to postwar America, according to Stavros D. Catrakis, Inspector of Mines and member of the planning group. His report shows that Greece has considerable supplies of nickel, chrome and bauxite (aluminum); 2 per cent of the world's molybdenum and of its ferrous ores; 3 per cent of its pyrite and also of its chrome; 15 per cent of its magnesium. Other deposits include manganese, marble, copper, lead, wolfram, zinc, etc.

Because of its vital relationship to every feature of the Five-Year Plan, the hydro-electric program might well be called the soul of reconstruction. Power development means increased output of agriculture and industry, increased efficiency of mines, fuller employment

These prisoners, labeled "Out with the British," line up for inspection by UN's Balkan Commission. The inspection was made at the request of the Yugoslav and Bulgarian liaison officers who claimed the place was a concentration camp for Greek democrats.

Colonel Nesti Kerenxhi presents Albania's case to the Balkan Commission in Athens, while (l. to r.) George Koulishev, representing Bulgaria; Alexis Kyrou, Greece; and Vrleta Krulj, Yugoslavia, listen intently.

and therefore a gradual raising of the standard of living. Greece has lignite or soft coal, but lacks hard coal, and this has prevented the country from developing a metallurgical industry, in spite of its iron ore deposits. Development of hydro-electric power will make a steel industry possible. The plan envisages production in Greece annually of 10,000 tons of steel, 10,000 tons of alumina, 1,260 tons of nickel, 100,000 tons of cast iron, and a large fertilizer industry as well as manufacture of many chemicals for domestic use and for export.

A twenty-year project for completion of a national hydro-electric system for Greece calls for construction in the first Five-Year Plan of a series of great dams furnishing water for irrigation and power for industries. They include the *Voda Dam*, which will give 38,000,000 K.W.H. annually; the *Ladon Dam*, which will give 335,000,000 K.W.H.; the *Aliakmon Dam*, with power estimated at 470,000,000 K.W.H.; the *Louros Dam*, giving 30,000,000 K.W.H. and two dams on the *Acheloos River*: 1—a giant dam at Kremastra, backing up a reservoir of 1,000,000,000 cubic meters capacity to solve the problem of flood control in the plain of Agrinion and to furnish 740,000,000 K.W.H., and 2—a dam to furnish 343,000,000 K.W.H.

American Companies Interested

THE planners believe that if the 1947 emergency needs of Greece are met, and reconstruction is begun so that the general situation begins to improve, it will later not be difficult to find the sums needed to carry out the whole long-range hydro-electric development. For this Greece would place contracts with private companies on a 40- to 50-year amortization arrangement. Some capital exists right here in Greece, Verdelis declares, which is being held back because of the prolonged unrest. And he named American companies that are eager to come to Greece as soon as conditions are sufficiently settled. They include Westinghouse; Edison; General Motors; Cowper & Co., which before the war spent seven years preparing plans for the Acheloos River projects; the Ulen Company, which built the Marathon Dam; the Foundation Company, interested in reclamation in the plain of Salonika, and many others.

It would seem that the United States must be careful not to overemphasize Greek military needs while underemphasizing human needs in this land. Hungry men here are not much different from the Hunger Marchers who once descended on Washington, D. C. It might be a fatal error to turn guns on such people, even though it is a baffling problem to know what to do about disorder and desperation when the economic machinery is at a standstill.

The component parts of the solution are:

(1) direct relief to prevent the suffering of those who are worst off;

(2) public works to create employment and purchasing power;

(3) encouragement of production and industry;

(4) better planning and utilization of resources, including human resources.

The Greeks have some assets not easy to itemize. If their soil is poor, their climate is one of the finest in the world, a stimulating combination of sunshine, sea and mountain air. The people are alert, intelligent, enterprising if they have any chance to go ahead. They are the inheritors of a great tradition—a democratic tradition. From the hill of the Acropolis the mighty Parthenon, "finest building ever produced by man," looks down on the capital of Athens. The Greeks revere it as a symbol of their own ability to build significant things in a civilized, cooperative world.

Because of the large number of delegates from many lands as far apart as Tibet and Indonesia, the Inter-Asian Conference at New Delhi was one of the most colorful events in Asiatic history. Above—two Bhutan delegates (left) and two Burmese.

ASIA PREPARES FOR INDEPENDENCE

By ACHI RANGASWAMI

Special UNITED NATIONS WORLD *Correspondent*

The first Inter-Asian Conference brought together 210 delegates from 25 countries among whom were 16 U.S.S.R. delegates representing eight of the Soviet Asiatic Republics.

While the Conference refrained from adopting any political decisions, it nevertheless indicated the growing strength of the various independence movements in Asia. The Conference also confirmed Nehru's leadership in Asia and laid the framework for future cooperation among the Asiatic nations.

THE Indian Council of World Affairs, the small group which originally got the idea of having an Inter-Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, envisioned it as a limited round table affair of Asian intellectuals more or less on the order of the meetings of the Institute of Pacific Affairs. But response to the invitations, sent out under Jawaharlal Nehru's name, was astounding, and what finally developed resembled a big three-ring circus more than a quiet discussion by a group of scholars.

Instead of sending two or three learned authorities to the 10-day conference, some countries sent two or three dozen; instead of 25 or 30 participants meeting in New Delhi from all over Asia, there were around 250 delegates and observers.

Seeing that they were unable to keep the conference within its original bounds, the originators decided to go full hog and have a big spectacle as well as a talk fest. They erected a giant Pandal—the Indian version of a big-top—inside the old ruined walls of Purana Qila, site of the first city of Delhi some 3,000 years ago.

Three big meetings which took place there were attended by from 10 to 25 thousand persons. Even smaller meetings which took up such serious questions as "national movements for freedom in Asia," "racial problems and inter-Asian migration" and "transition from colonial to national economy" were frequently attended by as many as 500 persons. Twenty-five delegations in all came from all parts of Asia and there were some 40 observers from Great Britain, the United States, Turkey, Australia and New Zealand. The whole affair was covered not only by several hundred newspapermen from all over India, but by the entire foreign press corps in New Delhi.

Political Views Generously Aired

MANY delegations with a good news sense decided that the conference was a good place in which to air their views and plead their causes. Thus two delegates from Viet Nam lost no time in holding a press conference. The Indonesians, with their newly won

freedom, arrived to the tune of 28 delegates, including Dr. Sutan Sjahrir and three of his ministers. Three Koreans attending used the conference as a good platform from which to plead for an end to present Russo-American division of their country.

Sixteen U.S.S.R. delegates, representing eight Soviet Asiatic republics, arrived in New Delhi via Moscow. Perhaps because the problems of their countries had little relation to those of the rest of Asia, they did not take a very prominent part in the conference. Several countries hitherto unrepresented at any kind of international gathering sent delegates, as for example Tibet, which sent four, Nepal, which sent seven, including two major-generals, and Bhutan, represented by two delegates including a princess of the ruling family. The Tibetans, who appeared in long bright robes and wearing long blue stone earrings, were quite definitely the sartorial hit of the show.

The conference management was busy right from the start denying that the meeting had any political tinge. There were all kinds of wild stories that here was the beginning of an Asiatic League of Nations. There were definite attempts to keep discussions of various countries' internal politics—such as the Arab-Zionist question in Palestine—out of the conference. But it was impossible to avoid international controversial issues.

If the conference had any theme it was that of a dying imperialism on one hand and a renascent Asian nationalism on the other. Delegate after delegate struck that note—that here at least were Asiatic peoples gathered together to discuss their own problems instead of having them discussed and settled for them in London, Paris or Washington.

Asiatic Self-Determination

In his beautifully phrased inaugural address, Nehru made this point: "For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must belong to the past. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others."

It is hard to list the accomplishments of such a meeting. No resolutions were passed outside a plan to have another Inter-Asian Relations Conference in China two years hence. No other formal decisions were made. There wasn't even any noticeable crystallization of opinion at the conference. But despite all lack of tangible results, the conference must be set down as a huge success. Delegates who attended got from the conference a feeling of pride and power in the new world dawning in this hemisphere. For the first time in their lives they held their heads high as Asiatics, and had the great spiritual satisfaction of meeting together as free peoples.

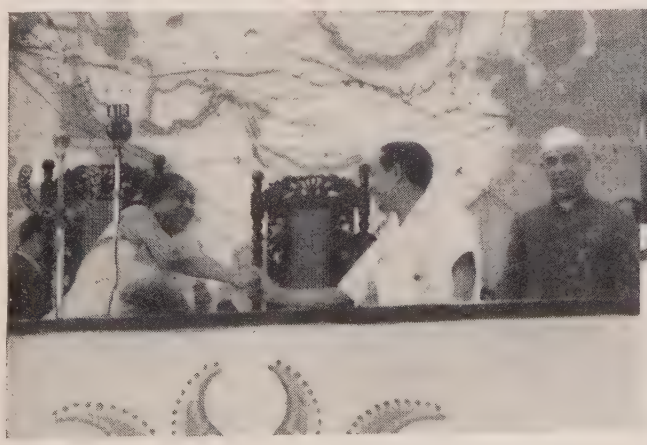
Backdrop of Leisure

As host, India did herself proud on this occasion. The entertainment committee put on at New Delhi a series of programs the like of which has never been seen before in India at one place. The famous woman dancer, Tara Chaudhri, gave an excellent recital of her classical dancing. Students of Viswabarathi University, near Calcutta, founded by the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, were brought to New Delhi to give the dance drama, *Chitrangadha,* by Tagore. All the way from Malabar in the extreme south came one troupe of Kathakali dancers who presented the Kerala dance drama rarely seen in the north.

As entertainment for the lavish "at home" in honor of the delegates given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Chhau dancers of the small Indian State of Seraikella, in Orissa, eastern India, put on an outdoor program. Seraikella dancing, an all-male affair in which the dancers are masked, has long been patronized by the ruling family of the Seraikella state.

The most impressive program, however, was a full-blown modern ballet produced by the India National Theater and based on Nehru's book, *Discovery of India.* The choreographer, composer and adapter of the drama were all graduates of the well-known culture center of Udai Shankar, famous Indian dancer. *The Discovery of India* ballet, which managed to reproduce all types of Indian classical dancing, is an exciting, interesting and altogether talented production.

Delegates were invited to all manner of receptions, teas, lunches, dinners, at homes and parties, but perhaps the most surprising invitation they received was to an "at home" given by Viscount and Viscountess Mountbatten. After the last Viceroy had shaken hands with all the delegates, the party moved to the Mogul Gardens, then in fullest bloom. Fountains played and lights spotlighted the wonderful flower beds. Delegates strolled down the garden walk between two rows of soldiers at attention—members of the scarlet-tunicked Governor General's bodyguard. The lights of the huge Viceroy's House came on in the warm twilight of an Indian spring. It was an unforgettable scene which in view of the British plan to send no more viceroys to India after June, 1948, is not likely to be repeated.



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, President of the Conference, greets Dr. Sutan Sjahrir, Premier of the Indonesian Republic, as Nehru looks on.

Gandhi addresses the delegates. The Mahatma's speech was nonpolitical but his presence symbolized the Asian march toward independence.

World Cook Book

By MIRIAM ST. GEORGES

SOME DISHES FROM GREECE

The UNITED NATIONS WORLD presents the first of a series of discussions on food habits and recipes of all the nations of the world.

It was green, about the size of my little finger; oily. Gingerly I picked it up and took a delicate bite.

It was bland and delicious to the taste—obviously a leaf of some kind wrapped around a filling. I took another more generous bite and asked: "What is that?"

"Dolmathakia," Helen Nonides answered. "A grape vine leaf, a little leftover rice, some shreds of onion, herb seasoning, olive oil."

That was the first surprise that Helen gave me as I talked to her in her New York apartment high above the Hudson River. Grape vine leaves! I had never heard of people eating them before. But they do—it's a custom thousands of years old in Greece.

We sat talking of the village near Athens that was once Helen's home. Helen left Greece just before the Germans moved in but her family there went through all the privations of the war. Now I wanted to know how the women of Greece had done the job of keeping their men strong during the ordeal. It was tough, Helen told me, but the Greek women tackled it as best they could—just as any woman would the world over.

The usual Greek dinner, Helen said, is very simple—soup or stew, vegetable or salad, a few grapes or olives, and coffee. Very occasionally lamb or fish is included. But during the war there was no lamb, very little fish or rice.

As I sampled a delicious almond cookie Helen told me that during the war these were made of yellow pea flour. Greek women had to beat the flour two hours by hand to make it light!

The Greek Kitchen

That was another surprise. So was Helen's description of a Greek country kitchen.

"Only in a city like Athens could you find a kitchen like an American one, with an iron stove," she said.

"Coal is scarce. Greeks use wood for cooking." She added that around the typical Greek kitchens are huge glazed jars, like the ones in the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. These hold the staples—beans, flour, olives, olive oil. The stove is made of pressed dampened earth, similar to the adobe ones in the southwestern United States. Cooking is done mostly in clay casseroles. They are excellent but they crack easily.

Helen offered me some curious-looking orange-colored tidbits (Frappis).

"Another Greek trick," she explained. "They are just leftover skins of grapefruit served in Greece to company. I will give you the recipe."

"I will taste just one," I told her, "since you told me that it is the custom in Greece for guests to sample the host's food, not to gobble it all up."

Helen laughed but I knew that in war-time Greece that custom had been the subject of a minor tragedy. For when the Allies arrived, Athenian families brought out the very best of their scant food reserves to offer to their liberators. Then they watched in anguish while all the food, down to the last morsel, was devoured by the visitors. Afterward they suffered the crowning hurt of having correspondents' reports go around the world—"The Greeks aren't in such bad shape, they seem to have plenty of food."

"Helen," I said with the sweet taste of grapefruit still lingering in my mouth, "how do you manage to make these delicious Greek dishes in America? Can you always obtain the necessary ingredients?"

"Why, of course," she replied. "The Greeks use practically the same kind of things to cook with as Americans."

I asked: "Will you help me plan a real holiday meal in Greek fashion?"

Here it is below. I thought you would like to have it, as every dish she lists will make a welcome change to any American table. All the ingredients mentioned are readily obtainable in the United States.

MENU
for a Greek Birthday Dinner

DOLMATHAKIA
GRAPE LEAF APPETIZERS
RIPE OLIVES, CARROT CURLS
SOUPA AVGHOLEMONO—LEMON SOUP
SOUVLA—BRAISED LAMB ON SKEWERS
Choice of
ARTICHOKE EGG PLANT
ONION POTATO
The potato might have a Dill Flower dropped into the boiling water. Delicious!
KOURAKIEDES
GREEK ALMOND CAKES
FRAPPIS—GRAPEFRUIT SKIN PRESERVES
GRAPES, ORANGES, FIGS, DATES

DOLMATHAKIA APPETIZER

Pick tender grape leaves. Cut out hard main stem. Parboil 10 min. Chop fine, 3 mint leaves, 1 dill blossom, 3 parsley leaves, 2 onions. Brown onion in olive oil to golden color. Stir in herbs and 2 cups cooked rice, salt and pepper.

Roll mixture firmly inside individual grape leaves. Pack tight in casserole and cover with water and oil from onion. Cook slowly 1 hour. Serve cold.

SOUPA AVGHOLEMONO LEMON SOUP

Take 5 cups good Chicken stock (or can of clear soup). Add rice or barley and cook 15 min. Season with basil, mint, thyme, or dill. Just before serving dilute the beaten yolks of 2 eggs in a little of the stock, and stir in juice of 1½ lemons. Add to soup. Stir thoroughly. Serve HOT on toasted Croutons.

SOUVLA LAMB ON SKEWERS

Cut lamb shoulder into 1-inch cubes. Season with salt and pepper. Place on long skewer, lamb, mushroom, kidney, tomato slice. Repeat. Dip in olive oil seasoned with onion, thyme, and crushed bay leaf. Broil over slow fire until tender.

FRAPPIS—GRAPEFRUIT SKIN PRESERVES

Take skins of 6 grapefruit. To remove bitter taste, boil in water 10 minutes. Pour off water. Repeat twice more. Throw away inside white of rind. Cut into strips ½ inch long. Roll into tight little circles (like Anchovies). Pack tightly in glasses and pour in thick sugar or honey syrup flavored with a pinch of ground clove, cinnamon, basil and thyme. Cover with paraffin.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

READ THE MAGAZINE THE LEADERS READ

Leaders in government, business and the professions are reading every issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD because they find it interesting, informative and authoritative.

Although it is new, it has been quoted by hundreds of newspapers, magazines and radio commentators all over the world. It has contributed to the conversation of brilliant people in homes, among diplomats, educators, officials. Secretary-General Trygve Lie says: "It is on the highest level of international thinking."

Walter Winchell says: "If you want to know what's going to happen to you, you should read UNITED NATIONS WORLD every month."

Warren R. Austin, U. S. Representative at UN—one of the many leading statesmen who read UNITED NATIONS WORLD.

WE KNOW OF NO BETTER WAY TO DESCRIBE THE UN WORLD THAN TO REPRODUCE THESE RULES OF THE EDITORIAL STAFF

1. There is no place in the world "distant" or "far" (from where?)
2. No place, culture, custom or people is "strange", (to whom) "exotic", "queer", or "bizarre".
3. People can be "illiterate" but never "ignorant"; they can be "simple" but never "backward".
4. Avoid any suggestion of the superiority or the inferiority of any race, color or religious group.
5. There are no "heathen," no "pagan cultures", no "Christian ideals" (except in direct discussion), and no "chosen people".
6. Avoid such meaningless clichés as "East is east and west is west, and never the two shall meet"; "the sun never sets on the British Empire"; "the white man's burden"; or "the yellow peril".
7. Treat every national or local custom with the respect it deserves.
8. Avoid the word "natives" as it has been shaped by imperial custom; use it only in the exact sense, for example: as a "native" of New York—not "the natives of New Guinea".
9. Avoid "we", "ourselves", etc., when referring to citizens of the U.S. or to Westerners in general. "We" are *all* the people.
10. There can be no preaching (*who* is in a position to preach and to *whom*?)
11. Give the *FACTS*. Be objective. The people will make up their own minds... and probably they will be pretty close to right!
12. "Important persons" includes everybody of good will.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

Subscribe now to the only magazine of its kind in the world: Edited *for the world*, and read by leading statesmen, educators, industrialists and opinion makers everywhere.

To UNITED NATIONS WORLD
385 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription at once

☐ One Year—$4.00
☐ Three Years—$9.00
☐ Check enclosed
☐ Send bill

Name .....

Street .....

City..... Zone.... State.....

Some People are alway

Typewriters? Scandalous!

Suspenders? Ridiculous!

EVER since the first hairy savage discovered how to make fire, then burned his fingers and exclaimed in effect: "To hell with it!", civilization has progressed against generations of congenital antagonists to anything new. It didn't matter what it was—some people were just as ardently "agin it" whether it was the steamboat, the safety razor, or even an ambitious project for a World Organization, such as UN, to keep the peace.

The cheerful thing about all this is that, no matter what the opposition, new developments—provided they are good—are always accepted by everyone in the end. That, of course, is where the UN comes in and must make good—if it does a good job, the gripers will shut up.

The fantastic lengths to which unimaginative people will go in opposing progress is illustrated by the drawings, taken from old publications, on these two pages.

The typewriter, though conceded to be ingenious, was completely ignored when it first made its appearance. Why would anybody want to write by machine when it could be done so much better and faster by hand? There was also the question of etiquette; only the crudest kind of business letter could be written by such a gadget.

Opera by telephone? Ha-ha!

Back in the 1880's the idea of telephoning opera into the home—forerunner of today's opera by radio—was ridiculed. Suspenders for pants? "Never!" cried the males back in 1895 when they first appeared in Paris. The contraptions were likened to using a crane.

There was even opposition to electric trolleys on the grounds they would scare horses. One inventor suggested that trolleys be camouflaged with a dummy horse's head (see cut). As for locomotive railroads, just glance at the advertisement, sponsored by stage coach and barge canal interests, that appeared 108 years ago in a Philadelphia paper. Finally, telephone wires! —some of the shortsighted people of the Gay Nineties figured they would eventually completely tie up traffic.

against...

Trolley? Dangerous!

MOTHERS LOOK OUT FOR YOUR CHILDE

ARTISANS, MECHANICS, CITIZE

When you leave your family in health, must you be hurried home to mourn a

DREADFUL CASUALITY

PHILADELPHIANS, your RIGHTS are being invaded! regardless of your interests, or the L
OF YOUR LITTLE ONES. THE CAMDEN AND AMBOY, with the assistance of other comp
without a Charter, and in VIOLATION OF LAW, as decreed by your Courts, are laying a

LOCOMOTIVE RAIL ROAD!

Through your most Beautiful Streets, to the RUIN of your TRADE, annihilation of your RIGHTS, and regar
less of your PROSPERITY and COMFORT. Will you permit this? or do you consent to be a

SUBURB OF NEW YORK!!

Rails are now being laid on BROAD STREET to CONNECT the TRENTON RAIL ROAD with the WILMING-
TON and BALTIMORE ROAD, under the pretence of constructing a City Passenger Railway from the Navy
Yard to Fairmount!!! This is done under the auspices of the CAMDEN AND AMBOY MONOPOLY!

RALLY PEOPLE in the Majesty of your Strength and forbid THIS

OUTRAGE!

Railroad
Outrageou

Telephone lines? Impossible!

Emperor receives his New Deal
nier—the extraordinary man who
ed the China of 1069 upside down.

THE BULL-HEADED PREMIER

By LIN YUTANG

The gate-keeper's painting of a starving wretch brings tears to the Emperor's eyes.

From totalitarianism to democratic "planning," the various forms of state control found throughout the world today often look like brand new symptoms of a modern age. Actually, some of them are ancient. In this swift glance into the past, Lin Yutang, distinguished Chinese scholar, tells the dramatic story of state control in China nearly 1,000 years ago.

IN THE four thousand years of China's history four great experiments in totalitarianism, state capitalism, socialism and drastic social reforms were attempted. Each failed miserably. The most nearly successful was the fascist regime of Shang Yang, whose theories were carried out by the first Emperor of China, builder of the Great Wall (third century B.C.). The two outstanding principles of this early fascist theory were the glorification of war and soldiery and the promotion of agriculture. But the two were really one because Shang Yang believed that peasants made the best soldiers and that all business men and traders of the bourgeois class should be suppressed as far as possible. The powerful military machine built up according to these doctrines enabled him to establish a local dictatorship, but as soon as such a theory of government was applied to the whole of China, it dramatically collapsed within a few years.

Two other such reforms were attempted, in the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.

The fourth and most famous experiment was that of Wang Anshih, "the Bull-Headed Premier," as he was called after his death. His date is perhaps best remembered by Westerners by relating it to the Battle of Hastings, since he held various offices from 1060 to 1076.

Often it is said that many of the measures tried in the United States under Roosevelt's "New Deal" were similar to those with which Wang Anshih failed. But the "Price Equalization Granaries" had been started nearly 100 years earlier, at the beginning of the dynasty. When people speak of Wang Anshih's reforms they think first of the farmers' loans which he started as a continuation of this old stabilization system. This beautiful and innocent plan in the end harassed the lives and destroyed the homes of the farmers for whose benefit it was conceived.

The truth is that Wang Anshih was an opinionated state capitalist. He was a great admirer of the fascist philosopher, Shang Yang, and wrote a poem pleading for a better understanding of this man. It must be noted that never was a totalitarian theory advanced, in ancient or modern days, without the basic appeal that it was for the good of the common people. How many political crimes have been committed in history in the name of the welfare of the people, the modern reader can well appreciate.

Wang Anshih was extraordinary in mind and character. He was an industrious student, a good scholar except in his abominable philology, and certainly a major poet, combining an extraordinary belief in himself, great stubbornness and disinclination to listen to others. He was unquestionably an impractical idealist. If by idealist we mean a man who was negligent of his food and appearance, Wang Anshih was certainly one. He achieved notoriety by his dirty dress and his unshaved and unkempt appearance. Su Shiun characterized him as "dressed in a barbarian's robe and eating the food of pigs and dogs," and said that "he discussed history and poetry with a convict's unshaven head and an unwashed face."

A native of Changchow, Lin Yutang, is Chinese to the core, although he speaks fluent English, French and German, reads Greek, adores gadgets, and has spent many years in the West. "I am a bundle of contradictions and I enjoy it," he declares. He loves prowling about city streets, smokes in bed, calls his workroom the "Have-Not-Done Studio," and shares a thousand whimsies with his readers along with penetrating thought. Dr. Lin is a graduate of Shanghai's St. John's University. His father was a Christian pastor; he himself for a time was a Christian but later became a spokesman for Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Until 1927 his life was academic—teaching in Peking interrupted by graduate study at Harvard and Jena and Leipzig. Then he started writing and has since published a half-dozen volumes in Chinese and some eighteen in English. The Lins have three daughters (two are novelists) and recently adopted a Chinese orphan girl.

A New Broom in Old China

He was appointed a vice-premier in February, 1069. No sooner had he assumed office than he began to sweep the whole governmental household with a wide, new broom. Protest followed after protest and all officialdom was thrown into turmoil. There was outspoken opposition from all the ministers of proved ability and respected character. The young Emperor could not understand this. Wang Anshih managed, however, to make him see the uproar in the light of a desperate struggle between the Emperor himself and the wicked ministers who dared to oppose his will.

Wang Anshih came to be known as a man of "three not-worths"—"God's anger is not worth fearing, public opinion is not worth respecting, and the tradition of the ancestors is not worth keeping." Soon after Wang Anshih arrived at the capital, Szema Kuang had an argument with him in the Emperor's presence, which sums up the fundamental opposition. The Imperial Treasury was impoverished at this time, and at the important ceremony of the worship of Heaven in the spring, the Emperor wished to omit the customary gifts of silver and silks to the officials. This started the argument. Wang Anshih maintained that the treasury was impoverished only because the officials did not understand finance.

"What you mean by finance," countered Szema Kuang, "means only increase of taxation and exactions from the people."

"No," said Wang Anshih, "a good financier can increase the government revenue without increasing taxation."

Wang saw clearly that the rich merchants and landlords were making money in a system of free enterprise, and he could not see why the government should not take away the profits from free enterprise and let the government run the businesses and make the money itself. The conclusion was inevitable. The terms he used were actually strikingly modern. He wanted to stop "exploitation [*chienping*] by capitalists," he wanted to equalize wealth by "taking it away from the rich and giving it to the poor," he wanted to prevent the peasants from borrowing from landlords at high interest. It would be a great and charitable measure on the part of the government to lend money to the peasants during spring planting and have them return the money when the crops were harvested. Wang Anshih was able to convince the Emperor that all these were "for the good of the people."

"Collectivist" Reforms

Without going too much into the details of the various reforms that were started in 1069 and disastrously ended about eight years later when both Wang Anshih himself and the Emperor were thoroughly sick of them and of each other, we may give a brief summary of these measures.

The most important and the best known were nine in number, which I have for the sake of convenience arranged in three groups, though there were a great many other changes during Wang Anshih's administration. There were three state-capitalist enterprises, three new taxes and three systems of registration for a complete regimentation and control of the people. The three state-capitalist enterprises were a government bureau for national trade, a bureau for government stores in the retail trade, and the famous loans to the farmers with an official interest of 20 per cent and an actual interest of 30 per cent, (i.e., plus application and registration charges). The three new taxes were the draft exemption tax, the excise tax and the income tax. The systems of registration were the organizing of all citizens into groups of ten families for military draft (the *paochia*), and the re-registration of land and of horses. On the whole all these measures suggest the tendency toward economic collectivism of modern days.

The reasons advanced for the government Trade Bureaus were that "the country's goods had fallen into the hands of capitalist exploiters" and that "the prices of goods fluctuated from time to time because of capitalist manipulation." A capable official was put at the head, and the more profits he was able to report to the government, the more capable he was considered to be. He became a kind of trade dictator of the country, having monopoly control of the small business men. The government's absorption of small business was one of the worst features of the regime. Private business came almost to a standstill. In a few years, commerce decreased so that the government revenue was affected to an alarming degree, in spite of the theoretical high profits. The Emperor found himself, to his great disgust, degenerating in the eyes of the people into a petty peddler selling fruits, ice and coal, calendars and straw mats.

The farmers' loan system affected every village of the Empire. In itself it was good and sound. As a young magistrate, Wang Anshih had made loans to the farmers during spring planting and collected them with interest when the harvest was in. This was a real help to the farmers because a local administration could see to it that the farmers came to borrow money only when in actual need, and loans were made only after proper personal investigation. In Shensi also, the local authorities had tried this scheme with success; it was from Shensi that the farmers' loans received their Chinese name of "seedlings loans."

From the very beginning of this dynasty, Price Equalization Granaries had been established in different districts by the government to stabilize the price of grains. In years of good crops, when low prices hit the farmers hard, the government bought up the surplus wheat and rice. Conversely, in bad years, when the prices of grain went up, the agencies sold the grain in the market to force the prices down. In 1066, published figures showed that the Price Equalization Granaries had bought from the people 5,014,180 bushels of grain and sold 4,711,570 bushels during that year.

Now officials were ordered to make loans to the farmers from the money and stocks of the granaries. This stopped the normal operations. Moreover, the government promoted and degraded officials according to their records in selling loans to the people. The incentive for personal competition

The Emperor found himself degenerating in the eyes of the people into a petty peddler.

was very much like the selling of government bonds in modern days. The officials knew that the government was after the revenue from the interest on these loans, and making big loans with high profits was the most important thing for them.

Taxes and Bureaucrats

THERE was also great discrepancy between official intentions and actual practice in the draft exemption tax. This was probably the best reform put through by Wang Anshih. For a long time the people of China had been subjected to conscription for military service. The proposal was that the people should pay a tax in place of the conscription of manpower. In other words, it meant replacing a military draft system by a standing army of hired soldiers. However, one cannot escape the conclusion that the government was primarily interested in the tax revenue. The regulations provided that families already exempt from the military draft were also compelled to pay the draft exemption tax; for example, widows, families without children of age, and nuns and monks, were compelled to pay the tax under a different name, called "the draft-aid tax."

In addition, 20 per cent was added to the regular tax over and above the district draft quotas, nominally to provide against the bad years when the people might not be able to pay. With the money collected from this tax, soldiers and other servants of the government were to be hired. People who had no cash to meet their loans or to pay the draft exemption tax were compelled to sell their grain, kill their cows, and cut down trees in order to obtain the cash.

In the course of a few months, public opinion toward the new administration changed from great expectations to doubt, confusion, anger and fear. There had been a complete shuffling of the military service. Hundreds of thousands of people had been conscripted for labor in building public works. Forty-one high commissioners had been sent out to the provinces to push through the farmers' loans. It had become apparent that the loans could not be voluntarily sold to the people. Some of the commissioners, therefore, devised a system of alloting the loans to the people according to their financial standing. To make sure that the loans to the poorest citizens were repaid, the government made their richer neighbors stand guarantors for them.

A retired premier, seeing how the loans worked, submitted a well-worded matter-of-fact report to the Emperor.

The Emperor, discussing this with Wang Anshih, said, "I thought these seedling loans were intended for the farming districts. Why do they sell them in the cities?"

"What's the harm?" replied Wang Anshih quickly. "If the people in the cities want the loans, why not let them have them?"

The People Had Had Enough!

THE great opponent of Wang Anshih, the poet Su Tungpo (or Su Shih), wrote a bold memorandum to the Emperor in which he said, "Your Majesty has compelled the farmers to pay you high interest, and entered into competition with business men for profits. Is this in accordance with nature, and do you wonder that it has failed? . . . Confucius said, 'If the people of the country are rich, does a ruler ever have to worry about his private wealth?' . . . I do not know, when Your Majesty speaks about enriching the country, whether you are speaking about enriching the people or enriching your own purse." And again, "Now there is not a man's heart in the country which is not turning against the government, and not a tongue in the country which is not talking ill of the regime. Does this sound like the beginning of a great regime when the Emperor and his ministers work in complete unison and harmony for the good of the state? The ancient saying has it, 'A hundred people cannot be wrong.' Now it is not only a hundred people, but the entire nation, which is voicing the same opinion, and yet Your Majesty persists in your course against the opposition of the entire nation. I really do not know what to say. The *Book of Songs* says:

Like unto a drifting boat,
None knows where it is heading.
Restless I lie upon the pillow,
For my heart is bleeding.

I hope Your Majesty will consider these humble words of mine, although I know I am courting death by this memorandum.

Your servant,
Su Shih."

It can be argued that there was nothing wrong with the declared purposes of all these reforms. The inevitable difficulty was the bureaucratic and arbitrary enforcement to which the government was led or driven.

Like all other collectivistic systems, Wang Anshih's administration could not leave the people alone. In its anxiety to take good care of the people, the government had to know exactly what the people did and possessed. It had to know how many chickens were on the farms and how many beams were in the roofs of their houses. Like all other collectivistic systems also, this regime found it impossible to govern without secret agents, or without bringing under control the Imperial Censorate, the equivalent of the modern press, and packing it with the party's underlings who were willing to follow strictly the party line. Again, as in all totalitarian regimes ruling without opposition, Wang Anshih considered it necessary to control the thoughts and ideas of the scholars. Like the modern Hitler, he had the idea of one state, one belief and one leader. Like Hitler, he exploded in fits of temper when he met opposition; modern psychiatrists might classify him as a paranoic.

Business at a Standstill

SOME Chinese scholars, following the western ideas of collectivism, have tried to rescue Wang Anshih from historical infamy and revise his reputation upward by showing that his ideas were essentially in conformity with modern socialism. But Wang's socialistic regime must be judged by its results. In place of "private monopolists," the state set up its own monopoly; small business men were thrown out of jobs, and farmers, unable to repay the capital and interest on the compulsory loans, sold their wives and children or fled, and their neighbors who were made guarantors of the loans fled with them, or sold or mortgaged their properties. The country jails were full, every district government found thousands of closed mortgages and confiscated properties on its hands, and lawsuits filled the courts. In 1074, an imperial edict said that business was at a standstill and people were thrown out of their jobs, and another edict in 1076 which stopped the loans said that many were jailed and flogged for failure to repay them.

For the first few years, however, Wang Anshih was able to keep the Em-

peror in the dark about the terrible conditions by adroit propaganda, insisting on the "people's support" for his "agrarian program" and painting a totalitarian regime as a "democracy" —a confusion of terms strangely reminiscent of modern days. Then as now, whether a people love a despotic regime or not can be judged only when it is no longer in power.

It took a visible demonstration of God's anger and a daring gate-keeper of the palace to put Wang Anshih out of power. In 1073, there was a landslide on the sacred mountain Huashan. Thrown into consternation, the Emperor, according to custom, moved to another palace as a sign of respect for God, and ordered poorer food to be served for his dinner. Besides, from the summer of 1073 to the spring of 1074 there had been no rain, and the Emperor was truly worried and did not know what to do. He questioned Wang Anshih about it, and the latter replied: "Floods and droughts are natural calamities . . . All we need to do is to carry on with a good government."

"That is exactly what I am afraid of," replied the Emperor, "that we have not been carrying on a good government. I hear so many complaints about the excise tax. Everybody at the Court has heard about it, including the Empress and the Empress Dowager."

Another cabinet minister, Feng Ching, who was present, said, "So have I heard also."

"Why, I've never heard anything," replied Wang Anshih. "Mr. Feng hears all about these grumblings because all the disgruntled persons flock around him."

The Daring Gate-Keeper

Now the little man destined to play the big role appeared. It was Cheng Shia, the gate-keeper. Standing at the palace gate, he saw the refugees who had fled from the northeast and swarmed the streets of the capital. Knowing that pictures spoke louder than words, Cheng Shia conceived the idea of making pictures of these poor farmers and presenting them to the Emperor. Here was a picture of the refugees, half-clad and starving, traveling on the highway in a blinding storm. There was a picture of half-naked men and women eating grass roots and tree bark, and others working in chains, carrying bricks and firewood to sell to pay the taxes. Along with these paintings the gate-keeper sent a brief note to the Emperor.

"Your Majesty:

It has been the custom after the successful completion of military campaigns to have paintings made to celebrate the victories. No one, however, has submitted to you paintings of the hardships and sufferings of the people, paintings that should show families being separated and refugees roaming over the countryside. Your servant has stood at the Anshang Gate and daily watched these scenes, and has had a panoramic picture made of them. These show only one hundredth part of what I saw, but I know that even you will shed tears when you see these pictures. Imagine, therefore, those who see the reality in the distant countryside. If Your Majesty will look at these pictures and take my suggestions for abolishing reforms, and if it does not rain within ten days, you can behead me on the execution ground outside the Sianteh Gate as a punishment for lying to Your Majesty.

Your humble servant,
Cheng Shia"

The Fall of Wang Anshih

Upon seeing the paintings, the Emperor shed tears. He took them to his sleeping quarters and showed them to the other members of the royal household. It was the Emperor's mother who first spoke:

"The people are suffering from the draft exemption tax and the farmers' loans. I do not think that we should change the tradition set by the ancestors."

"But these are for the benefit of the people, and were never intended to oppress them," replied the Emperor.

"I know that Wang Anshih has great ability," said the Empress Dowager, "but he has made too many enemies. For his own good, I think you had better temporarily suspend his office."

"I find," replied the Emperor, "that among all the courtiers, only Wang Anshih is willing to shoulder all the responsibilities."

The Emperor's brother, Prince Chi, was standing by and he said, "I think you should think over what Mother has just said."

His Majesty flew into a rage. "All right, all right!" he cried. "I don't know how to run the government. You take it over."

"I didn't mean that," said Prince Chi.

For a moment there was an awkward silence. Then the Emperor's mother said, "Wang Anshih has brought on all this trouble. What are you going to do about it?"

The next morning Wang Anshih was dismissed. The Emperor decided to suspend the excise tax, the farmers' loans, the draft exemption tax, the *paochia* system, and the registration of land, a total of eighteen measures in all.

It began to rain. Truly God was pleased!

The Emperor allowed Wang Anshih to retire from his office in October, 1076, while retaining some of his highest ranks. Years later, Wang was living in retirement at Nanking, a sad, disillusioned old man. The political frustration and the loss of all his former friends and admirers, who had boycotted him, caused him shame and remorse and cast a shadow upon his mind. He began to see hallucinations and was often seen riding alone on a donkey in the suburbs of Nanking, mumbling to himself.

•

Mumbling to himself in retirement, the disillusioned old ex-Premier was often seen riding alone on a donkey.

NEW POLITICAL LEADERS OF LATIN AMERICA

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

An amazing array of new political leaders has emerged within the last few years in the various Latin American countries. The interesting fact about them is that they are mostly men who are free of any given ideological tendency. With the exception of Argentina's Peron, who leans to rigid autocratic ideas, they are chiefly coalition politicians.

FACED with the responsibilities of power and with growing inflation, most of today's Latin American statesmen are limiting their efforts to transitory measures in order to keep the economies of their countries going. But underneath the popular demands for immediate improvements, vast and growing trends to the left are seen.

Lately, many responsible Latin American leaders have begun looking to the UN for immediate economic help and for assistance in modernizing their countries.

Chile's Gonzalez-Videla

BY ALL immediate temperature readings, Don Gabriel González-Videla sits in the presidential hot seat of Latin America. He has been President of Chile since last November. On his hands he has the worst inflation and shakiest employment problems in Latin America, not excluding the Brazilian.

He is not a "majority" President, but was elected by a plurality to which the decisive contribution was made by the Chilean Communist Party. He is a patriot with a South American practical politician's customary inclinations and dedications to thoroughgoing nationalism. But he holds his office in the shadow of muscle-flexing Peronist Argentina—in an economic, political and potentially military situation ripening toward something like *Anschluss*.

González-Videla, squeeze player.

What could González-Videla do if Perón started pushing for *Anschluss* hard? Chile must have peak Argentine trade relations—both export and import—in order to keep even an anemic pulse flickering in the economic body. The cocky five-year-planner in Buenos Aires, by curtailing freight to Chile as he did to Uruguay and Bolivia—could boot Chile in a few days over into an abyss of disruption.

Under these circumstances, it might not prove profitable if Peronist "bully boys" should happen to get active in Santiago. Freight trains might get snowbound in the Andes, come midsummer. Neither, if it came to finalities, is Chile any longer a military match for its armament-bemused strong neighbor.

Worse still, *Anschluss* forebodings are not things that can be publicly taken up with the neighbors—like pickpocketing in Podunk. Unfavorable publicity, too, might snow in the freight trains.

Argentina and Chile's Economy

ANSCHLUSS, meanwhile, has made considerable, if still indecisive, advances. A reciprocal trade treaty concluded last fall between Argentina and Chile gives the stronger neighbor a first call on Chilean markets and exports, amounting to something close to indirect control of Chilean economy. A project is now under way for a trade agreement channeling Soviet imports into Argentina and most of "deep" South America through Chile's Pacific ports. Even a light Russian trade and trans-shipment business would be a help to a distress victim reduced close to apple-selling straits on remote world trading corners. It might also—if there were any question of asking the United States for different kinds of support—strengthen the Communist finger-grip on the victim's vocal chords.

In a word, *Anschluss* protagonists can afford to sit back comfortably in Buenos Aires these days, and see what steps develop next.

A Foe of Totalitarianism

Don Gabriel González-Videla's capacities for keeping his balance in such a dilemma have not been—and no wonder!—informatively exhibited as yet. Most of his political successes have been won by legitimate slicker's arts—as an insistent but conciliating debater; a manager of Radical party campaigns and of Congressional coalitions; a

---

The Author: Duncan Aikman, newspaperman, magazine writer and for many years a student of Latin America, first became interested in the southerly republics as a Yale student 27 years ago when he took a course under Prof. (later Senator) Hiram Bingham. Later his interest was further fired in Texas where, he tells us, "Inter-American relations, though personal, minute and sometimes frowsy, are realistic and continuous. As an editorial writer for the *El Paso Times*, I could never escape continuous instruction." Aikman has traveled extensively in Latin America besides doing a stint as foreign correspondent in Britain. During the war he acted as Chief Consultant to the Press Division of the Office of Inter-American Affairs. He is the author of *All-American Front* and other books.

trouble-shooting composer of their internal difficulties. The *Anschluss* determinants of recent history have seldom been headed off by persuasive committee and forensic talents.

On the other hand, during the years of the Spanish War and afterwards, González-Videla was Chile's outstanding spokesman against totalitarianism. With considerable personal courage, in Chile's Paris legation in 1940, he gave scores of Spanish Loyalists asylum from the Nazi fury. If his presidential term is less ripe for drop-of-the-hat displays of such virtues, nothing in his course so far indicates that Don Gabriel has abandoned them.

Don Gabriel, among his other talents, plays Chopin on the piano, as well as, if not better than, President Truman. If Argentine ties should ever permit a Washington visit, competitive nocturne performances might win Perón's approval as a diversion.

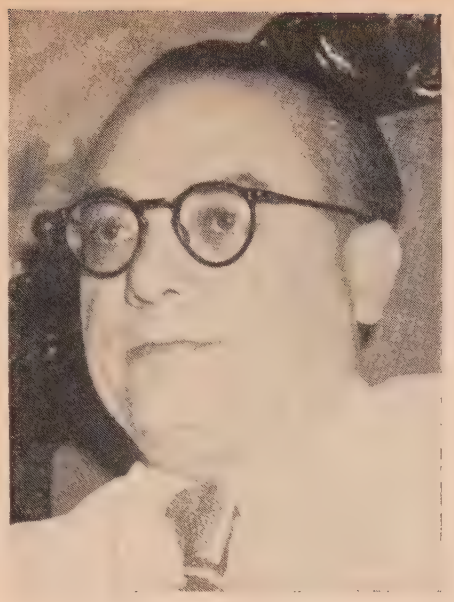
"The Man" Perón

FIFTY-TWO in 1947, and shortly to enter the second year of his presidency, Juan Domingo Perón is becoming old hat to the American continents. The convulsions of his temperament tend to have less importance in fixing his current reputation than the fixations of his ideas. Even a habit of temperamental convulsions, when a dictator holds authority long enough, tends to achieve a kind of static quality.

Nevertheless, exuberance continues to explode new prodigies in "the man" from the pampas. Even through the smoke, the lines of what he is shooting for grow clearer.

One of these targets, more plainly to be seen than even a few months ago, is total one-man economic control of the richest country in Latin America. By now Juan Domingo almost has it. He controls Argentina's banking mechanism sufficiently to control the entire flow of public and private credit in the Republic. He controls labor organization and labor supply. He decides who may not—which is the same as deciding who may—get the commodities necessary to carry on private industry or business. He does not as yet spend all his time riding herd on private conduct and dissenting opinion in all these vast possessions. But for all practical purposes, "private enterprise" exists or stops existing in Argentina as Perón decides.

Another objective is permanence in control. Juan Domingo told Pierre Loving, International News Service correspondent, in a recent public interview, that the famous "five-year-plan" now has shaped itself into a "fifteen-year-plan." Perpetually blowing controlled stimuli into the economy of a rich republic is nice work if you can keep it up. Barring possible accidents from excessive pressures for "austral *Anschluss*," Juan Domingo and his wife, Evita, could not be sitting prettier if they were stars in Hollywood.



Betancourt, political evolutionary.

Venezuela's Prodigal

ROMULO BETANCOURT, Provisional President of Venezuela, acts for the Junta de Acción Democrática which has governed the Republic since the revolution of October 1945. He is healthily fleshed proof that there is nothing to that Moscow Politburo old wives' tale about "cured" Communists always becoming soap-box revivalists for economic reaction.

Anyway, Betancourt once was a Communist. He got into it when he was an exile from old man Juan Vicente Gómez' regime of totalitarian suppression and torture in Venezuela, and while he was starving and studying his way through various Latin American capitals in a state of "insecurity" in which almost every economic system with which he was personally acquainted, seemed to be against him. So young Rómulo Betancourt—it was the early 1930s, and he was a long way from 30 himself—carried a party card. He was in on the passwords to salvation, and some of the secrets, like any other initiate of theological mystery.

Then, under circumstances which might have made many a young man of strong political and intellectual pretensions "mad" for life, Comrade Betancourt underwent the pang of excommunication. He was rusticating in San José, Costa Rica, at the time. His card was taken away, and he was expelled from the Party apparently for something in the way of "diversionary" opinion.

But though he valued his opinions respectfully, ex-initiate Betancourt did not leap from the embraces of one passionate orthodoxy into the arms of a new passionate doxy on the street's far other side. He merely began ambling up and down various instructive highways and byways searching for what the scores might be when someone without benefit of infallible revelation happened to be keeping them. Already he had balance enough to be able to quit a formal religion without becoming either a Holy Roller or the village atheist.

Betancourt's "Grand Tour"

SO during the 1930's traveler Betancourt "undergrounded" with Apristas in Peru. He lived, to his cultural profit, with Aprista exile Dr. Luis Alberto Sánchez in Chile. He watched Mexican economic democracy pack up, apparently for going places, under Lázaro Cárdenas. He saw Argentine political progress begin to coast downhill vociferously from Uriburu toward Perón; and tasted Uruguayan liberalism's waters, faintly tainted for the moment with the bombastic pretenses of Dr. Gabriel Terra's pseudo-dictatorship.

He even included the United States in his "spying for reality" novitiate. Once in 1940 he came back to Venezuela, and was kicked out by the López-Contreras regime only a little more politely than by Juan Vicente's. When he came back to stay, two years later, he had made the political and cultural "grand tour" of his world as concentratedly as any English nobleman's son approaching statesmanship in the 18th century. He had seen all this, and Marxism's confession boxes, too.

Also, Betancourt came out of it with a predominant interest, not so much in ideologies as in what passes for functional forces in Latin American economies. As Provisional President, for instance, he is bored today with discussion of political imponderables and legal subtleties.

A Three-way Economy

He would rather tell a press conference, or a one-man audience, that Venezuela has a maladjusted three-way economy—consisting of oil interests and workers; gouging big-town middlemen; and more or less pre-Bolivarian back country peasants—than expatiate on the new constitution whose composition he is helping to guide. The constitution largely reduces itself, for Betancourt, to two earthy points, anyway: universal suffrage and the free ballot.

After stating that, he prefers to go on and describe how thousands of miles of highway, together with adequate farm-to-town trucking service, could scramble the three economies together and make them one.

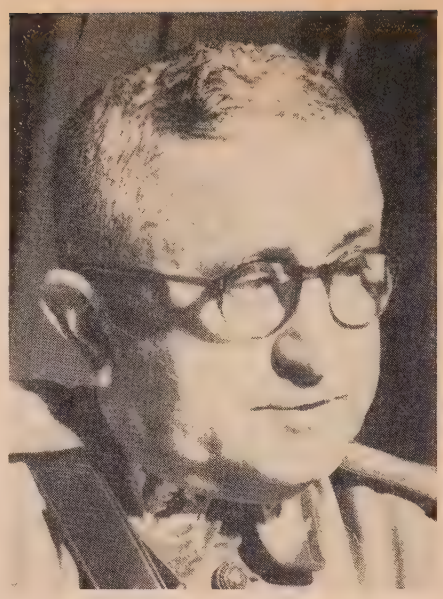
Again, old friends of his Mexican exile can—and do—cite Provisional President Betancourt in passionate eulogy—as of 1938—of Lázaro Cárdenas' oil expropriations. But whatever he thinks of the people's ideal rights to national subsoil resources, the Provisional President dabbles with no expropriation projects now. The Betancourt of 1947 wants the highest possible royalties for government from private oil corporations, to build highways and dicker for trucks with. But he takes no chances, as Mexico did, with government programs which might discourage "company" technicians from keeping royalty-producing oil in full output.

Ideologies, meanwhile, appear not to arouse him even in a feuding way. The Provisional President has parachuted down from clouds of dogma even beyond anti-dogmatism. In his stolid, easy-going way, he is striding on real earth through the somewhat mucky jungle of Venezuela's troubles. And he likes it. Judging by what happened to an attempted military coup against him last December, so do the still unhealed but hopeful citizens of "little Venice."

Dutra of Brazil

When I confided a slight writing intention concerning President Eurico Gaspar Dutra to a Brazilian, he said: "You can't give a personal picture of a tub of butter."

Dutra isn't quite that definite. Brazil, possibly because it sent an expeditionary force and was physically more involved in World War II than any other Latin American nation, went somewhat further than others in an



Dutra, "plumply solid."

effort to return to something static. President Dutra's colorlessness could reflect—a little like the Harding-Coolidge personalities of the 1920's—a Brazilian inference that the static ought not to be too exciting.

But he is plumply solid—and stolid—rather than oleaginous or something that runs whenever the frigidaire is turned off. The President could talk army organization plans, company drill technique and equipment with Perón, no doubt, if the Argentine trooper could ever stop being a matinée idol long enough to be interested. For Dutra, until he became President, never really worked at anything in his life except being a professional soldier. But he could hardly talk social realities with Betancourt in anything that they would recognize as a common language.

Neither has Dutra, by any imaginative stretches, ever been exciting as a soldier. True, he rose from the ranks—an unusual process for Brazilian top generals. But he did it not by dash, but by strictly super-formal military correctness; mostly of the crashing bore sort which army superiors sometimes find convenient in subordinates. From the moment he found his specialty as a lieutenant nearly 40 years ago, Dutra stuck to it. He was the Brazilian military's most conscientious office-manager. None of the conventional military vices—liquor, women, gambling, or leading revolutions or charges—was ever allowed to get in the way of Gen. Dutra's being the perfect dawn-to-dusk paper-shuffler.

Because it seemed such a harmless form of efficiency—in more adventurous and imaginative hands Brazilian armies have been dangerous to regimes—in 1936 it won Dutra promotion to war minister. Now he had more papers than ever to shuffle with plodding diligence, and even less time to exercise his atrophied imagination. He made official inspection trips to Germany and Italy, and saw the Fascist armies and armaments. So when war came in 1939, he concluded that the Nazis must win. Issues of totalitarianism vs. human freedom passed him by like jokes in a foreign language. War Minister Dutra counted guns and soldiers' noses—and shuffled papers. Victory and defeat were as simple as that. The War Ministry was sure Brazil should play its cards with the Axis, because Axis luck was "in."

Later, when tactful subordinates induced "the old man" to make a recount, he became just as correctly and unemotionally interested in Brazil's participation on the Allied side. Now—he had seen some of it with his own eyes—the Americans, the Russians and the British had the most man- and shooting-power. Somebody had moved the bigger paper-weights over to the other side of the desk. Changing preferences mid-stream was as simple as that.

Then toward the war's end, Dictator Getúlio Vargas, who had made Gen. Dutra's war-ministerial fortune, decided to yield to the Brazilians' demand for recovery of their static privilege of electing new presidents. Since Dutra still seemed so harmless, Guanabara Palace made him a kind of official administration candidate. And when Vargas was suddenly tossed out of office for trying to renege on the election promise, Dutra went on being a candidate. You have no idea how much paper work is left unfinished in a presidential campaign if you quit in the middle.

In a scramble of unfamiliar issues and factional cross-currents, Dutra was somehow rather triumphantly elected. Quite possibly if they had had a chance, the Brazilian people, with a half-amused craving for democratic privileges and the blessings of the Getulian dictatorship at one and the same time, would have elected Vargas. But Dutra succeeded.

Westward Ho!

Now it appears possible that in the campaign he got one real gleam of imaginative enthusiasim. The "old man's" advisers on political strategy fed him the idea that boosting a pro-

gram for settling the Brazilian West was a hot campaign issue. Dutifully, Dutra preached it.

Maybe, having seen a lot of the Brazilian West in his subaltern days through command post office windows, the "old man" caught a little fire from his memories. Maybe, like the Nazi army, the West was simply something he had seen—and so easy to make up his mind about. Maybe, it just struck him that filling up an area as big as the U.S.A. trans-Mississippi West in 1820, with settlers, their problems and gadgetry of government would mean more paper work than any Brazilian maestro ever saw before.

Anyway, Eurico Gaspar Dutra's administration has given more backing to exploration and settlement of Brazil's continental wilderness than any political organization that preceded it. If Dutra the Dutiful keeps it up, he may yet, out where the West begins, get a buttery toe-hold on history.

Lleras Camargo, Pan-American

ALBERTO LLERAS CAMARGO has just taken over the post of Director-General of the Pan-American Union in Washington—the first Latin American to hold it. He was, and most successfully, President of Colombia during a year—August 1945 to August 1946—of incoherent party divisions and unmeshed political confusions.

More significantly, Lleras Camargo is the sort of man who would have been at home in the convention of 1787 which framed the United States Constitution. He is now 41. Between sessions at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, he no doubt would have done considerable huddling with 36-year-old Delegate James Madison.

There was more than a trace of the clear, close reasoning of the "Federalist" papers in President Lleras Camargo's state papers of a year ago. Both he and the most intellectual of the "founding fathers" are—or were—slight men of quiet voices. Both are deep and subtle experts in what the 1787 generation might have called the "engineery" of government. Both have a driving interest in, an almost sixth-sense comprehension of, how fundamentals and delicacies of written law mesh with the earthy practices of politics to make the lives of national societies tick.

When Lleras Camargo succeeded Alfonso López in Bogotá in 1945, he suffered from all the disadvantages of being a Congressionally-elected, one-year-term, interim President. He faced a situation in which the Liberal Party, which had controlled the Colombian government since 1930, suffered from souring and evaporation of most of its basic principles. It was split between a López political machine ring and a potentially Fascist pseudo-"Labor" wing, besides.

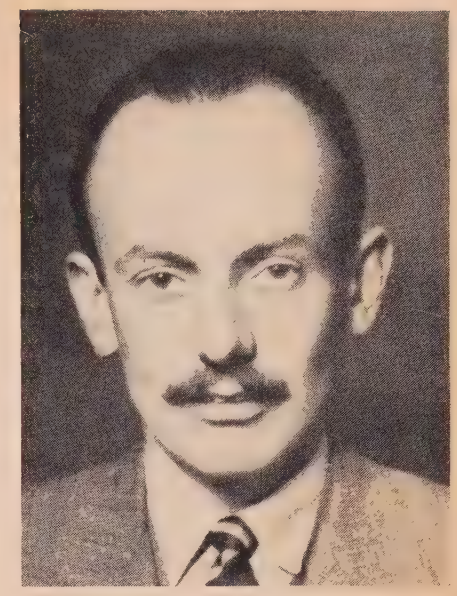
How strong Conservative Party opposition would be, and how far it would go in the direction of Falangist clerical Fascism, ardently preached from certain pulpits, was still uncertain. The Colombian economy rocked in the world-wide wake of postwar unfinished price, wage, employment and industrial activity adjustments.

A practicing as well as a party Liberal—he had been the Party's Secretary General in his early twenties—Lleras Camargo concluded that complicated transitions required middle-of-the-road routing. He velvet-gloved the Presidential Palace leadership, and struck no poses.

Instead, with almost spectacular casualness, he invited three promising and influential Conservatives into his cabinet and quietly indoctrinated them and their influential party followings with "Llerasismo." Colombia has no adequate system of checks and balances in its political machinery, he explained twelve months later on his retirement from the presidency. Congress' organizational methods militate against it. There is no federated state structure where an opposition can function from roots in authority. Therefore, the place of loyal opposition is in the guiding and reasoning labors of the presidential cabinet.

Conservative "Llerasistas" Take Over

UNDER the Lleras Camargo conciliating spells, the innovation worked—brilliantly. Plainly Colombia's 1946 presidential contest was the Conservatives' "year." For the time being, in their bitter division between the López machine and Lawyer Jorge Eliecer Gaitán's semi-Fascist caudilloship, the Liberals were "done." But meanwhile, the Conservative cabinet members were becoming "Llerasistas" themselves. Through their followings and the party at large the prophylactic of middle-of-the-road sanity began to spread.



Lleras-Camargo, conciliator.

So when it came to nominations and campaigning, the Conservatives' clerical Fascist faction rarely registered more than small noises, ripe for "shushing," in intimate committees. Conservative President Ospina Pérez' Administration in succession to Lleras Camargo's is far enough to the left of the once apoplectic exclamatory credos of pre-cabinet fusion Conservatism to be recorded as "Llerasista" itself.

But the Madisonian comparison can be pushed too far. The smile of the eyes and mouth of Director General Lleras Camargo can suggest almost undergraduate innocence. But behind the slight façade is mettle of executive decision and action.

That was shown in his handling of a Communist-led strike of Magdalena River transport workers in December, 1945, which disrupted inland Colombia's economy. He issued a 24-hour ultimatum. Strikers would go back to work or lose economic rights, pensions, vacations, etc. The strikers grumbled but the strike folded.

In the inter-American "system's" current clutter of clashing sovereignties, small vs. big nation wrangles, dictatorship vs. democracy and emergent democracy harassments, an insight into what makes laws and human society tick together might spark leadership with fresh vitality. Balanced and winning executive qualifications such as Lleras Camargo's might be something more than a fresh experience for the Pan-American Union. Conceivably, they might have an exemplary usefulness even to a new world power-cosmos.

CRISIS OF WO

THE THREE GREAT ECONOMIC ILLS OF THE WORLD

MANY people tend to forget that the political difficulties which our world is encountering on the road to peace are due in great part to economic factors.

However much of the present trouble one may ascribe to ideological conflicts, the basic fact remains that over four-fifths of the world, as shown in this map, are devastated by war, depressed by grave economic dislocations or under-developed. Sometimes countries such as China, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Burma, Ethiopia, Greece, Poland, Albania and Yugoslavia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and great parts of European U.S.S.R., are stricken simultaneously by all three ills.

Looking at the economic map of Europe—once the most prosperous continent on the earth—one finds that the only countries enjoying varying degrees of prosperity are Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal and Eire—all, with the exception of Denmark, neutrals in World War II.

IN EUROPE alone (excluding the U.S.S.R.), the gap between urgent relief and reconstruction needs for 1947 and available resources, gold reserves and foreign exchange through exports is over $3,400 million. About $600 million of that figure consists of relief requirements, leaving a net deficit of over $2,800 million.

Asia's needs, of which evaluation is much more difficult, are even more staggering.

These requirements were defined by the United Nations Technical Committee on Post-UNRRA Relief as necessary in order "to prevent suffering or economic retrogression which threatens the supply of basic essentials of life." The acuteness of the problem is further illustrated by the fact that the countries of the South Pacific, as well as some of the countries of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, have all made bids for economic aid under UN sponsorship.

Peaceful cooperation of the nations of the world is impossible without an over-all solution, within the framework of the UN, to the precarious economic condition of the world. The general belief in UN circles is that the initiative for a solution must come from the prosperous countries, particularly the U.S. and Canada.

APPLIED GRAPHIC ARTS

ECONOMY—SPRING 1947

AN EXCLUSIVE "UNITED NATIONS WORLD" MAP

Personal Opinion:

JOURNALESE REGNANT

By VINCENT SHEEAN

The technique of the United States Press in handling international affairs, both in headlines and in story presentation, is analyzed by Vincent Sheean and found wanting.

THE temperature of debate between the United States and the Soviet Union, both in the United Nations and outside it, has become dangerously high in recent months. Part of the responsibility for this phenomenon must be borne by the journalistic treatment accorded such deeply serious subjects in our own country. The Russians know how to make themselves extraordinarily difficult, but their aptitude in this respect must be increased rather than lessened when they read our slapdash reporting and our bristling headlines. And the citizen, the ordinary citizen, the man-in-the-street so-called, who has no special training or indeed no time to follow international discussions in detail, quite naturally derives the impression that we are in the midst of a great crisis leading to war.

The word "crisis" itself is overworked badly. It is a short word and fits easily into headlines. So do such other short words as "showdown" and "clash" and "split." In the popular press, where the headlines take up more room than the actual texts of reports, the Russians and the Americans have "clashed" and "split" times without number since the meetings at the Waldorf began last November. The deadening effect of so much picturesque language is shown by the apathy with which practically everybody now regards the discussions going on in Moscow. Nothing is expected of them, nothing was ever expected of them, and as a result there seems a strong probability that nothing will come out of them. And if there should be a really decisive "clash" or "split" within the next month or so it is going to be very hard for the ordinary citizen to take it in. He has heard it all too often before.

Along with these headline words there are some catch phrases which have also played their part in the drama of the newsprint. One is "the iron curtain," which Mr. Winston Churchill picked up out of some London newspaper and threw into world circulation by his speech at Fulton, Missouri (March, 1946). Another is Mr. James Byrnes' favorite combination of adjectives, "firm and patient." The effect of the first is to suggest very powerfully to all newspaper readers that a sort of Maginot Line exists across Europe, whereas in fact reports from the other side of the "iron curtain" appear daily in the very papers which use the phrase. The effect of the second, "firm and patient," or, variantly, "firmness with patience," is to suggest that the Russians have no case at all on any point at issue, but are merely wrong-headed evil-doers who have to be treated like delinquent children.

The American "Free" Press

THE American press system is hardly understood in any other country except, perhaps, England. Its great powers and freedoms, tied to a system of private profit, seem to many critics to have a baffling illogicality surpassed only by the American system in radio. How "free," for example, is a newspaper which is edited according to the whim of an eccentric millionaire who inherited it from his grandfather? This sort of question arises in any European mind when confronted with the phenomenon of a press system claiming so much. The economic primacy of advertising in the whole system (press and radio) is another source of suspicion. But what is least understood by Europeans or Asiatics—and probably least of all by Russians—is the professional techniques which often have more to do with the presentation of news than any other single determinant.

The first requirement, technically, of any news story is that it should be interesting to a large number of people. Any item of news is interesting to somebody, but the effort of American newspapers, crowded as they are, is to print only those stories which interest most people. There are hardly any newspapers in this country which seriously consider it their duty to contribute to the education of the citizen. (The *Times* and *Herald-Tribune* in New York are often exceptions to this rule, especially in international affairs and news of the United Nations). Two immediate results ensue: a good deal of international news is not printed at all, and that which is printed must be pointed up or colored to enlist the interest of the largest number of readers.

NOW, of course, it could hardly be questioned that a "crisis" is more interesting to most people than an agreement. But aside from this general precept there is a journalistic rule which, from a simple technical or professional point of view, gives all these stories from Lake Success, Moscow or elsewhere a kind of warhead, as we say of bombs. Every story is supposed to be told in the opening paragraph and amplified or supported in succeeding paragraphs. That is the rule, and it is enough, all by itself, to explain the great difference between American newspapers and those of all other countries. Most accounts of complicated international debate cannot easily or properly be put into a single sentence, and consequently the writer of the account is obliged by his professional technique to pick out a "highlight" and build his entire account upon it. The "story" thus becomes a misrepresentation, not for any political reason at all, but simply because of the nature of American journalistic practice.

When, on March 7 of this year,

Mr. Warren Austin for the United States accepted four Soviet amendments to our trusteeship proposals and rejected one, the headline in the *New York Times* (March 8) gave the emphasis to his rejection and not to his acceptances. That is, he "rejected Soviet amendment." Actually he had accepted four times as much as he rejected, but you had to read the whole account before you discovered it. The writer of the account had put the rejection well up, and the writer of the headline based himself upon that.

F.D.R. and the Press

During the Roosevelt regime the press conference at the White House, Tuesdays and Fridays, became practically speaking an instrument of government. Mr. Roosevelt understood the press exraordinarily well and read it or an enormous part of it, as a part of his day's work. He knew how to go through an entire press conference without letting out a single piece of startling information, and then, at the last moment, to make some brief remark or speech which would govern the front pages of every newspaper in the country for twenty-four hours. Old hands at the game told me he did this very often; I was only present at one such conference, but he certainly did it then. He had told me the evening before I could come to the conference if I wished, but that he was not going to "say anything." He knew what he was going to be asked—questions about Austria and Czechoslovakia; it was in March, 1938—and he knew that he could not reply.

It took place exactly as he had foreseen. No answer was possible, in the international situation as it then stood, to any of these questions. He parried them all with immense skill. At the very end somebody asked him what he thought of a suggestion to "scrap battleships," and he fired up with a five-minute declaration of his faith in the surface navy which gave the whole press its leading story of the day.

A new crop of leaders in public life has not Mr. Roosevelt's skill in such matters or his remarkable knowledge of press techniques and psychology. He could "make stories" with ease and constantly did so. No matter how bitterly they opposed him—and he had most of the press against him throughout his career—editors could not fail to print and emphasize a good story. This is what he fully understood, and one of the most memorable aspects of his genius was his mastery (through the *story itself*, the story with irresistible news value) of an inimical press.

The understanding of these journalistic precepts and practices is, of course, beyond the Russians and need not be expected of them. Molotov did well at San Francisco with the press but apparently did not care much for the experiment; he has not repeated it. It is a peculiarly American skill. But as we read the accounts of international debate we are made to wonder why none of the present American leadership seems to possess it. Many of these accounts are dull; they are increasingly unread by ordinary Americans who have no special reason for interest. Through the country at large the news is not even fully printed; less and less space is given to the momentous discussions between the powers; an air of ultimatum, crisis and clash hangs over the big, black headlines and the inadequate reports. Only in the two great morning newspapers of New York is anything like sufficient space given to the subject.

Popular Apathy on International Affairs

One cannot help thinking that somebody with a trace of Roosevelt's skill could have been found, not necessarily in the presidency but somewhere in the top leadership, to popularize the United Nations, to sway public opinion one way or another, to dispel the atmosphere of fatalism and apathy which suffuses the whole popular mind on the subject of our international relations.

On March 12 of this year, as I hurried home down Madison Avenue to listen to Mr. Truman's speech to the two Houses of Congress, I could not help being struck by the fact that nobody in that crowded street seemed to care a hang. We all knew, if we had read the morning's papers, that he was going to make a declaration affecting the whole of life on this planet for an indefinite period. From the windows, as I sat listening, I could see many busy people; I saw none who paused to think, much less to listen; there were no loudspeakers or other signs, as there would have been in other countries, that a very great event in our national history was taking place. And since then, as the discussion has progressed, it becomes clearer that no movement of thought or feeling has occurred: we are embarking upon an unknown sea in a mood of indifference.

It will not be possible, I think, to unite the American people in an immense crusade, everywhere and always, and enlist their full energies in the great efforts and sacrifices that must be made to carry it out to the end, unless somebody knows how to stir their imaginations as Roosevelt did. This can only be done by the instruments of the time and place—press, radio, song and story—and not by statements in a legislative assembly, however august. Somebody has to "make the story" or there is not going to be one. In the meanwhile we are at the mercy of journalistic techniques which simultaneously play upon our anxieties and cheat our appetite for full information. In the strange mosaic of our national policy, parts of which plainly contradict other parts, the citizen would be ready indeed to discern a pattern and an objective if somebody would only point it out. Clash, split and showdown are not enough.

Public Opinion

JOHN DOE LOOKS AT WORLD PROBLEMS

by PAUL B. SHEATSLEY

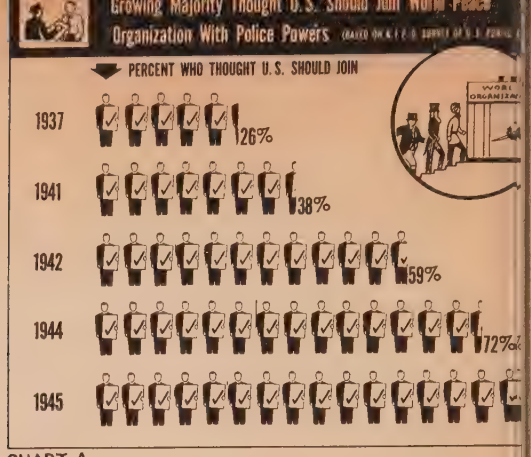


CHART A

HOW has American thinking on outstanding world questions—the UN, Russia, prospects of another war—changed in the light of events since V-E Day? Here are the answers, given by a specialist of the National Opinion Research Center.

AMERICAN public opinion on the complex international problems which face the nation and the world is subject to the same contradictions and uncertainties that characterize most individual opinions.

Ask yourself how you stand on such matters as the United Nations, American relations with Russia, the chances of another world war—and you'll immediately see some of the difficulties of describing "how the public feels" about these issues. If you are an informed, conscientious citizen, you're probably "in favor of" the United Nations, though you may not be enthusiastic about the progress it has made so far, nor about its chances of preventing future wars. In regard to Russia, you may feel strongly the necessity of Big Three cooperation, but you may also find it difficult to draw a line between "cooperation," on the one hand, and "appeasement" or "war-mongering" on the other. As an enlightened American citizen, you fervently hope for a just, enduring peace, but you are far from convinced that this is an immediate possibility, and you're not sure how much faith to put in international cooperation at the expense of national security.

The composite opinion of the American public on these problems isn't much different.

Let's take the United Nations, as an example. Dr. Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion has been sounding American opinion about a world organization for almost ten years, and the trend shown in Chart A leaves no doubt that the war brought about a tremendous shift in American attitudes. In 1937 only one person in four approved the idea of joining "a world organization with police power to maintain world peace"; in 1940 and 1941, as our own involvement in the European war became more and more apparent, opinion was evenly divided. By 1944 the earlier opinion had precisely reversed itself, and three persons in every four expressed themselves in favor of membership. At the time of San Francisco, the proportion of those in favor had reached 81 per cent.

A Huge Majority for UN

THE high level of support for the UN ideal is even more striking when we consider that the American people are seldom unanimous about any public issue. Even Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the year of his biggest "landslide" (1936) received only 62 per cent of the major party vote. Majorities of 70 per cent and 80 per cent represent an unusually high amount of agreement among a people as diverse as the Americans. Proof of this can be found in the fact that the polls have been unable to turn up significant opposition to membership in a world organization among any population group. The supposedly "isolationist" Midwest backs the idea as strongly as the East, Republicans scarcely differ from Democrats, farmers agree with factory workers—and the white-collar group favors it even more strongly.

But after all, at the time of San Francisco, one might expect an air of idealism and approval of the United Nations principle. What has happened since that time? Iran, Greece, Spain, the veto, atomic energy, disarmament—have not all these disagreements and disputes among the powers brought about disillusionment and cynicism; perhaps a return to isolationism?

Obviously, the public isn't entirely satisfied with UN's performance so far. Its degree of satisfaction seems to vary according to the optimism or pessimism of radio and press reports on how things are going. Last May, for example, Gallup found that half of those with opinions on the issue were "satisfied with the progress that the United Nations had made to date." During the summer and fall, as shown in Chart B, the majority expressed dissatisfaction. But today the majority of those with opinions on the issue are "satisfied with the progress made by the organization."

The fact that a large segment of the public expresses dissatisfaction with UN is perhaps meaningful, though. Does it reflect a revulsion against the one-world ideal? The evidence is all to the contrary. When public opinion

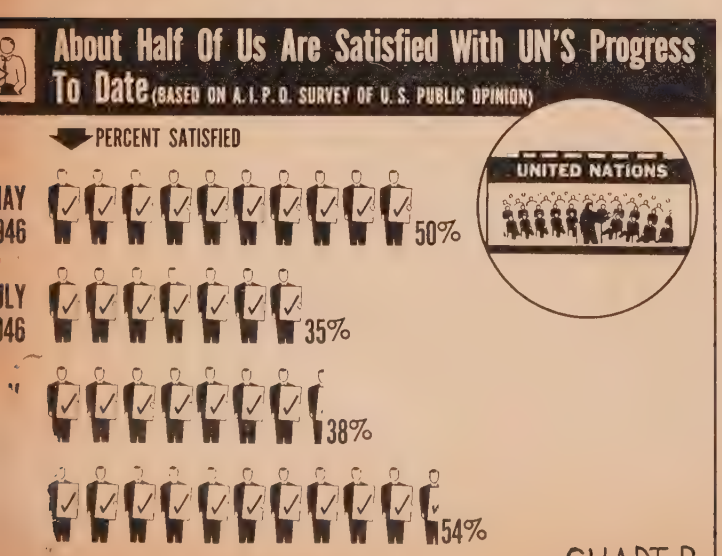


CHART B

polls ask this group why they're dissatisfied, the overwhelming majority merely state such reasons as "Russia won't cooperate," "They don't seem to be getting anywhere," "Each country is out for its own private interests." Only about one person in twenty-five among the disgruntled group expresses a wish to do away with UN entirely.

Indeed, there is strong evidence that the American public, far from losing its faith in international organization, would welcome an even stronger UN. Both Dr. Gallup and Elmo Roper have recently found a majority of the American people in favor of a move toward world government.

The Russian Question

BASIC to the American attitude toward the United Nations is the public's view of our relations with Russia. Russia's "lack of cooperation" is the most frequent reason given for dissatisfaction with UN's progress, and people are not altogether sure of Russia's motives. As Chart C shows, public estimates of whether or not Russia "can be trusted to cooperate with us" fluctuate widely according to events. When disagreements are highlighted and a crisis seems imminent, as during the Iran incident last spring, the percentage drops; when the disputes are compromised and things appear to be going smoothly, the percentage rises.

The Fortune Poll, conducted by Elmo Roper, found last summer that half the American people believe Russia "is out to dominate as much of the world as possible." About the same time Gallup reported that 60 per cent believe Russia " is trying to build herself up to be the ruling power of the world." Another Gallup question revealed that 71 per cent "disapprove of the policy Russia is following."

There is an abundance of evidence from the polls that the American people favor a "firm" policy toward Russia and don't want to make too many "concessions," but there is very little evidence that they have abandoned all hopes of successful cooperation. The National Opinion Research Center, in a series of questions asked of a cross-section of the public last fall, found that 87 per cent (a strikingly high figure) believe that if the decision were up to the Russian and American *people*, they would not go to war with each other.

In polls taken last fall by affiliated Gallup organizations in England and Canada, a slight majority of Canadians and 41 per cent of the British told interviewers that their feelings toward Russia were "less friendly" than they had been a year ago. In Australia, 48 per cent believed Russia was "trying to make herself the ruling power of the world" rather than merely seeking to protect her national security.

That accurate, unprejudiced news about Russia can play a great part in creating more friendly attitudes is also disclosed by poll results. Fewer than one person in three, for example, think they are being told enough about "what is going on" between Russia and the United States; a plurality of the public (42 per cent) think the newspapers they read "make Russia look worse than she really is." Moreover, the best informed, best educated persons are the ones who see both sides of the picture and who have the most favorable attitudes. For instance, 87 per cent of the college-educated group see no cause for war at present but this is true of only 66 per cent of those with eight years' schooling or less.

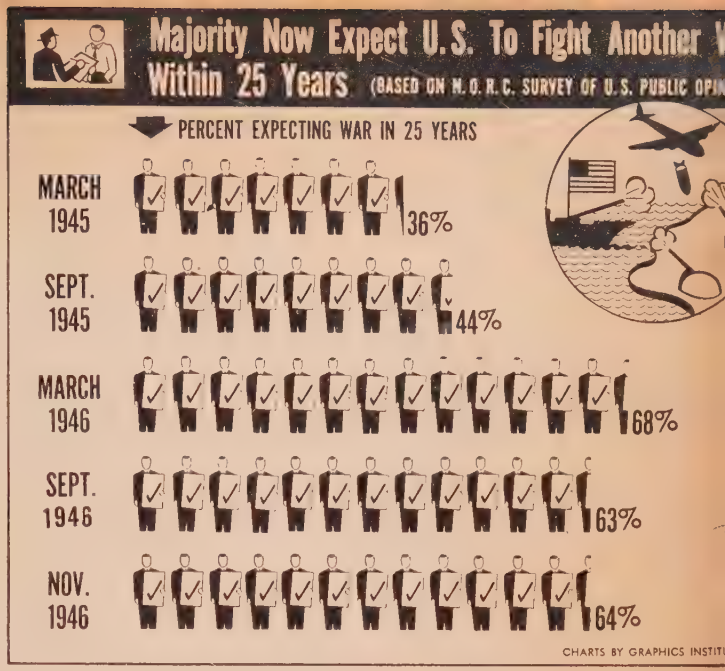


CHART D

Another War?

ONE big danger in public thinking about international relations is the prevalent belief that we face another war within 25 years. NORC polls show that the proportion of people holding this attitude rose steadily following the end of the war, and has only recently begun to show a slight drop (see Chart D). The insensitivity of this feeling to events indicates some deep-seated psychological resignation to war's inevitability.

People in other nations are only slightly less pessimistic about the prospects of world peace during the next generation. Latest figures from the French Institute of Public Opinion, for example, reveal that 50 per cent of the French expect another war within the next 25 years; in Holland the proportion is 47 per cent, in England 48 per cent, in Sweden 47 per cent.

If this were a healthy pessimism, we might welcome such an attitude. Better to be aware of the dangers of war than to shut one's eyes to them and pretend it will never happen. But analysis of American results shows that this pessimism is a fatalistic attitude that could easily be turned to isolationism. It is the pessimists who tend to give the least support to UN, to feel that relations with Russia are hopeless. The optimists are the most likely to give full support to international measures.

In summary, then, the American people remain solidly behind the principle of world organization. They're not entirely satisfied with the progress UN has made so far, but their remedy for the situation lies rather in the direction of a true world government than in a return to international anarchy.

ART C

THE UN FIGHTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

BY RENÉ CASSIN

One of the greatest jobs undertaken by the UN is the promotion of human rights throughout the world. It is a job that cuts across both frontiers and ideologies and that will require the utmost patience and goodwill among all the nations. In this article, René Cassin, presiding justice of the Supreme Court of France and member of UN's Human Rights Commission, tells how the UN is tackling the task.

THE United Nations as an organized juridical community have deemed themselves competent to protect the human being and "to facilitate to all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental liberties." This is the essential fact which overshadows all others. Without enumerating these rights and liberties the Charter has proclaimed the United Nations' right and obligation to see to it that they are respected.

Of course such a mission cannot be fulfilled without intrusion into what was once upon a time "a domestic affair of each sovereign state." It is no longer admissible that the state erect an impenetrable screen between the human being and the international community which wishes to protect it, as in the case of Germany in 1933—a screen that the verdict of the International Tribunal at Nuremberg did not dare to pierce, thus leaving unpunished the "crimes against humanity" committed before the war of 1939.

Although the principle that the United Nations is not to "intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" has been recognized in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, one must not lose sight of paragraph 5 of the same Article which reads: "All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter." Furthermore, if a grave, repeated or systematic violation of human rights within a given country is likely to threaten international peace, the Security Council has the duty to act and intervene unimpeded.

The juridical competence of the UN is unquestionable. The real problem is—how it can be put at the service of justice and peace. It would not be rational for the UN to take up insignificant cases involving individuals complaining of violations of a right or freedom. The UN would thus substitute itself for the judiciary, administrative and political authorities of all the states of the world. This would most certainly give the enemies of the Charter the means to paralyze the examination of more fundamental problems.

The Question of UN Intervention

UNITED NATIONS' intervention, to be effective, must first of all be based on a constructive policy of prevention, aimed at the establishment by the States themselves of regimes guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Action in individual cases will have to be confined at first to the potentiality of intervention. An appeal for cooperation, preventive or *a posteriori*, of the State involved will be the second step. Only in case of grave or persistent violation of a right (alas, a quite prevalent condition), will imperative pressure and even coercion have to be applied.

How will the dividing line be established between general action and special intervention?

And in this latter eventuality, how will the choice be made between varying degrees of intervention? It is essentially a question of establishing precedents and of creating a progressive jurisprudence in each case until it is possible to formulate a doctrine.

It is very comforting to state that the General Assembly of the UN aiming at the fulfillment of its high mission to safeguard the rights of man, has already inaugurated such jurisprudence. On the one hand, the General Assembly has envisaged measures of a general and preventive character (viz., to forestall discrimination or to call a conference on Freedom of Information) or of a repressive character (aimed at punishing crimes of genocide). On the other hand, it has tackled directly a concrete case (that of the treatment of Indians in South Africa) and invited the States concerned to make a report on the steps they have taken.

THE Economic and Social Council created an excellent precedent by adopting in June 1946 a resolution based on a recommendation of the Nuclear Commission of Human Rights laying down as a general principle that "international treaties involving basic human rights, including to the fullest extent practicable treaties of peace, shall conform to the fundamental standards relative to such rights set forth in the Charter." The peace treaties recently signed with Germany's satellites contain some essential dispositions of this kind. The treaty with Germany will have to be even more detailed and precise.

Another request of the "nuclear group" was granted, namely, the creation within the Secretariat General of a center of documentation, studies and publications. The Commission paid tribute to the action undertaken by M. H. Laugier, and to the able performance of the Director of the Division of Human Rights, Prof. John Humphrey, and his aides. The Council failed however to follow our recommendation to organize, starting with the summer of 1946, consultations of experts, working either individually or in groups in the various parts of

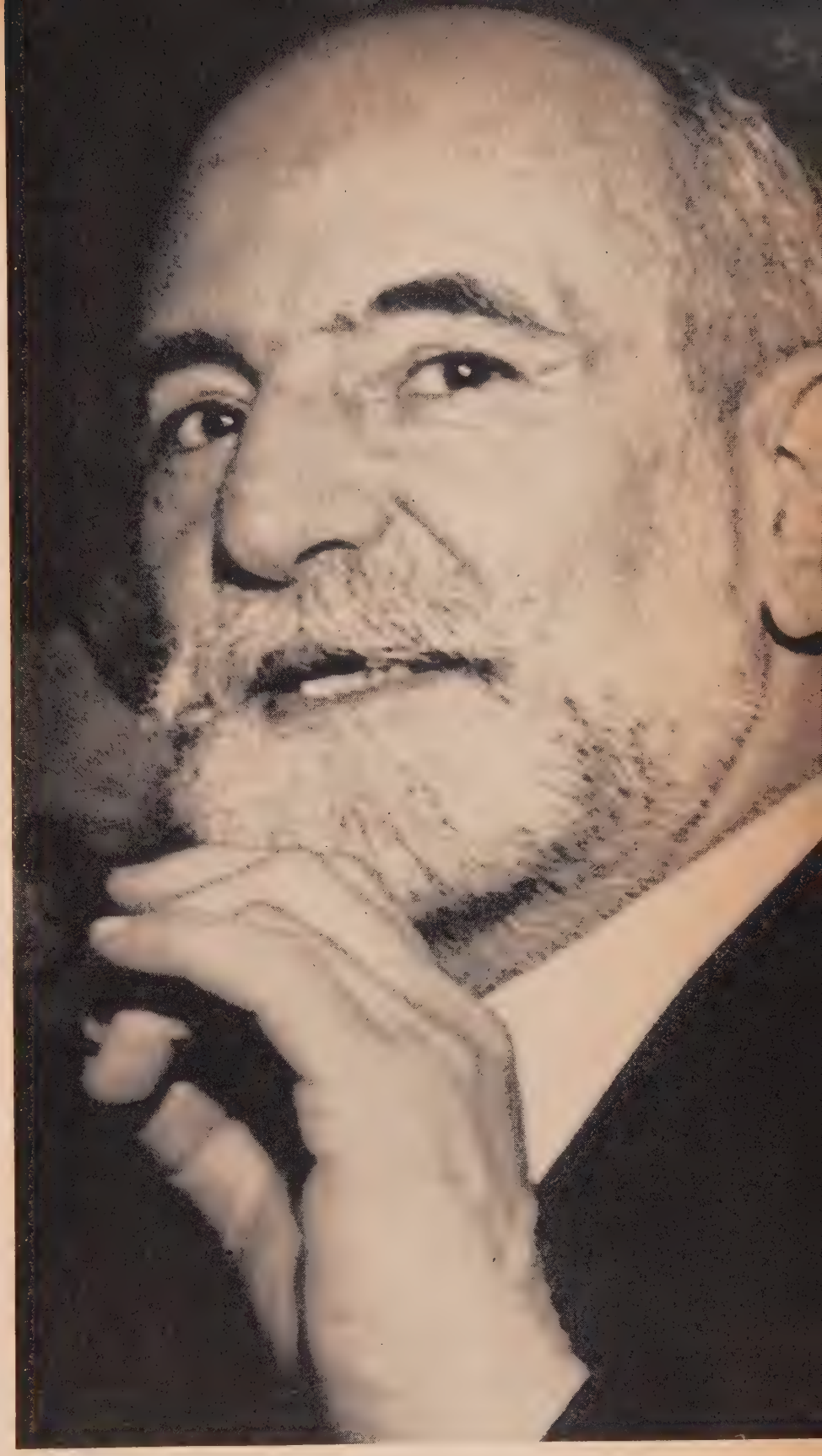
the world, to prepare an International Declaration of Human Rights.

Need for an International Declaration

THIS declaration is now the most essential task of the Commission. As far back as San Francisco, President Truman considered it necessary. The General Assembly, at its meeting in the fall of 1946, expressed a quasi-imperative desire to be in a position to adopt such a declaration in the fall of 1947. The time limit thus granted was so short that it has compelled the Human Rights Commission to entrust to its executive officers (the President, Vice President and Rapporteur), assisted by the UN Secretariat, a heavy task—that of editing a preliminary project before the end of June 1947, in order to enable the Plenary Meeting of the Commission, scheduled for July at Geneva, to draft a project to be submitted to the Council and then to the General Assembly for final consideration.

It is true that the drafting group has before it two official projects, sponsored by Cuba and Panama and both influenced by the Pan-American Conference, as well as numerous projects submitted by non-governmental organizations. The group may consult, in addition to the members of the commission or their experts, any qualified persons or organizations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions. Above all, it has as main guidance the statements and suggestions of various members of the Commission, as recorded in the Minutes. Agreement seems easy on the proclamation of the unity of the human family, on the right to equality without distinction as to race, sex, religion or social status, as well as on the rights and freedoms proclaimed, with minor variations, by the old Declarations of Rights—American and French—as well as by the modern constitutions of the U.S.S.R., China, Yugoslavia, France, etc.

Nevertheless, for want of real instructions or directives, it will be hard to reconcile the views of those who, on the one hand, put the accent on sacred and inviolable rights of the individual, and on the dignity of the human person, and, on the other, of those who make social rights the point of departure and insist on correlative duties of the individual toward groups to which he belongs—the family, the community and, mainly, the state.



The Author: René Cassin, distinguished lawyer, head of the Supreme Court of France, and a leading member of UN's Human Rights Commission, has long been a staunch defender of human rights. A varied experience has given him adaptability and broad, human sympathies. He received his doctor's degree in law in 1914 just as France was plunged into the first World War. After being wounded in combat and honorably discharged, he devoted much time and energy to two organizations for wounded veterans which he founded, one French, the other ternational. A professor of civil law in th universities in turn, Cassin was also for years France's delegate to the League of tions. A man of strong convictions, he not hesitate to repudiate Vichy, and in Ju 1940, he joined De Gaulle in England, aski simply, "Could you use a legal mind?" drew up the Churchill-De Gaulle agreem and was otherwise invaluable in the period. Today, this outstanding French zen is one of the pioneering spirits of

An international declaration could not be merely an enlarged photograph of a national declaration; it could not ignore the aspiration of each human being to claim a country as his own and, in the case of voluntary or enforced expatriation, a haven. It will not suffice to have the draft prepared in the time prescribed by the Commission. It would be desirable to have it ready sufficiently in advance so that the General Assembly debate can benefit by the constructive criticism of world public opinion.

The Commission had the greatest difficulty in working out a common concept as to the very important question of "implementation of human rights and of an international bill of rights."

The Problem of Safeguards

THE Commission accepted the French suggestion that the group entrusted with drawing up a list of rights and freedoms to be included in the declaration, would also be qualified to "explore" the problem of recommendations aiming at the setting up of effective safeguards of human rights.

Among the achievements of the Commission must be mentioned the creation of a sub-commission with the task of determining what rights, obligations and customs have a bearing on freedom of information (that touchstone of all liberties.) A general conference on this subject will be organized in the immediate future in collaboration with UNESCO. A sub-commission has also been created with the mission to define the principles related to the protection of minorities and to the prevention of discrimination because of race, sex, language or religion. In order to gain time, the Commission which originally declared itself, by a small majority, in favor of selecting representatives on the basis of personal qualifications, has since requested the Economic and Social Council to make the appointments without further delay from lists as submitted by each of the member states.

A Commission Without Power

THE following part of the Commission's report is bound to arouse vivid reactions on the part of public opinion: "It (the Commission) has at the present time no power to take any measures on complaints as to human rights" and must confine itself merely to taking cognizance, insofar as it may help it in its work, of "communications, requests and complaints addressed to the United Nations."

Juridically speaking the allegation of impotence leveled against the Human Rights Commission in specinc cases is well founded. But the question arises immediately as to which organ of the United Nations is, in the present circumstances, competent to examine and verify the numerous appeals flocking to Lake Success under the impact of the swell of confidence and hope already pervading the world and which Henri Laugier has so eloquently described.

If no satisfactory answer is given to this question and the Economic and Social Council does not follow up the suggestion made in May 1946 by the nuclear group of the Commission, the disappointment of human beings who place their hopes in the justice of the UN will be profound indeed.

To make possible the creation of a direct link between the UN Organization, which is the juridical form of universal society, and of individuals in quest of justice, the Human Rights Commission must find firm support not only on the part of competent organs as set up by the Charter, but on the part of the member states themselves.

If it be permitted in this connection to draw attention to the Preamble of the Constitution of the French Republic of October 27, 1946, so rich in fecund principles, and to cite a characteristic fact—the election of the first President of the Republic was postponed for almost a month in order to enable the numerous deputies and counselors of the Republic, elected by formerly non-autonomous populations, to reach Versailles in time to participate in this election.

The Keystone of Human Rights

BUT more than anything else, it is the support of public opinion that constitutes the keystone of human rights on the international as well as on the national plane. Our Commission has well realized this. Ever since its birth it has brought to the attention of states the necessity for each of them to encourage, in its own territories, the creation of local information committees capable of aiding it in its task of enlightening public opinion. The Economic and Social Council has espoused this suggestion which some countries, including Turkey and France, are already following up. In the U.S., President Truman has even gone further, for he has instituted a committee for civil rights composed of 15 eminent members entrusted with the task of studying any reform tending to promote respect for the Constitution through action of federal authorities upon various states.

Close contacts with representatives of great organizations, working on a voluntary basis for fundamental liberties, such as the International League of the Rights of Man and the World Federation of UN Associations have also been established. And this is only a beginning. . . .

If men wish to be protected against the arbitrary by human society as a whole, they must as a counterpart measure, as they are already doing in every democratic nation, assume their duties and their responsibilities as citizens of the world.

As one member of the International League strikingly put it: "To safeguard the rights of man, we need not only the United Nations, but above all, United Men."

A glimpse of the Human Rights Commission in session. Left to right—P. C. Chang, China (Vice Chairman), Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (Chairman), and Charles Malik, Lebanon (Rapporteur).

Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General in charge of Social Affairs, including Human Rights.

The United Nations

The Secretary General.

TRYGVE LIE has successfully withstood the first storm of attacks directed at him by the U. S. press. As one of his intimate advisors says, he is getting a thick skin. After a year in the U. S., he has learned to understand that a man in public life must be able to take a lot and hit back. This method is a little unusual to European diplomats, who are not subject to such attacks in their own countries.

When Walter Winchell, to whom he listens regularly, first referred to attacks on him in a Sunday broadcast, right after the Secretary General had returned from Central America, Lie was somewhat distressed. But now he has become accustomed to attacks—a fact that was illustrated the other day when a clipping came to him from the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior*. This contained a story saying that the gold of the Spanish Church was taken to Moscow during the civil war and that it was now being used by the Russians to bribe the Secretary General, whose pockets, it asserted, were full of the gold of the Church. Lie just laughed heartily and quipped: "It would take more than that to get rid of me."

An Investigation of the Attacks

THE origin of the attacks is still uncertain, because no UN government has identified itself with them, and President Truman was very laudatory toward Lie in recent messages. The criticisms started at the time the first reports of the Balkan Commission began coming in. The S.G. has ordered a complete investigation of the whole situation through his top-ranking adviser, the former newspaper correspondent William H. Stoneman, now in Geneva.

The S.G.'s Busy Month

APRIL was the S.G.'s busiest month since he took office. First, he had to break in the new Assistant Secretary General for Administration and Financial Services, Byron Price, who has since taken most of the administrative load off Lie's shoulders.

But Lie's most difficult problems during the month were, on the one hand, discussions before the Security Council —both on the U. S. program of aid to Greece and Turkey, and the Balkan Inquiry Commission; and, on the other, the hurried preparation of the special session of the General Assembly on Palestine, called at such short notice.

As soon as the announcement of the special session was made, Lie was swamped with requests for meetings and interviews from a great number of Arabian and Jewish spokesmen. From the beginning, the S.G. had decided to deal only with movements and organizations with a recognized status. Therefore he saw members of the Arabian governments and representatives of the official Jewish Agency for Palestine, notably its top-ranking political representative, Moshe Shertok. But after the repeated insistence of the Jewish representatives of the different committees of national liberation, Lie also received their representatives.

A Visit to Perón?

IF THE General Assembly does not last too long, Lie is planning two important official visits: one to Canada, Iceland and Sweden; the other to South America, including Argentina and Brazil. There is much speculation as to how the interview between President Perón and the Secretary General will turn out.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

OFF to a limping start because of dissatisfaction with draft agreements, as well as Russia's absence from its meetings from the outset, the Trusteeship Council, last of UN Charter Organizations to be set up, spent its first month of operations laboriously picking its way through labyrinthine procedure. Under the tactful chairmanship of Francis B. Sayre, U.S. delegate, it finally reached agreement on all points. Then, while its drafting committee took up the "smoothing out" of linguistic details in the elaboration of rules of procedure, the Council tackled two main jobs: 1—Examination of 20 petitions from residents and former residents of Tanganyika territory, protesting impending deportation: and 2 —A petition from tribes of Western Samoan Islands, presently under New Zealand mandate, requesting self-government (see STATE OF WORLD ORGANIZATION, April).

Action on Samoa

GUIDED through the Council by the willing cooperation of New Zealand, the Mandatory Power, the Samoan Petition for self-government received rapid and satisfactory treatment. A mission of experts is to be despatched "within the present year" to make an on-the-spot study of conditions relevant to the Samoan petition. The mission is to be briefed by a committee of four (France, Mexico, U.S. and U.K.) created to formulate recommendations with regard to the proposed visit. Contesting only the use of the word "experts" Sayid Awani Khalidy, Iraq, keynoted the friendliness of discussions with the comment: "In our part of the world, we have a horror of Commissions of Inquiry." The mission will further be instructed to remain long enough in the territory "to make an exhaustive study of the problems"; this being the first substantive issue for disposal by a UN Charter body, the Council wishes to make no mistakes. Meanwhile, disposal of the petitions from "displaced" Germans and Italians in Tanganyika, protesting impending deportation, was still under discussion.

A STORMY MONTH FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL

HIGHLIGHTED by a series of tense situations, the month of April in the Security Council was one of the stormiest in its brief career. Nevertheless, despite renewed evidence of the wide gulf separating the powers on many major issues, there was an undertone throughout of desire to reach a common ground of compromise for future cooperation.

This was particularly the case during multiple session discussion of the proposed American program for aid to Greece and Turkey, which twice during the month drew capacity crowds to Lake Success as big power cooperation seemed to totter. Acrimonious discussion ended April 18 when agreement was reached on an American proposal —slightly amended by France—providing for the "retention in the area concerned" (the Greek frontiers) of a

AUSTIN vs. GROMYKO

The pictures on these two pages reflect the dramatic atmosphere at UN during the debate on President Truman's policy for aiding Greece and Turkey. Above—listeners follow Warren Austin's April 10 speech with the aid of mimeographed copies.

"subsidiary group of the Balkan Commission . . . to continue to fulfill such functions as the Commission may prescribe." The vote was 9 to 0. Both the U.S.S.R. and Poland abstained.

Maintenance of such an inspection team had been requested by Senator Austin as a safeguard against internal strife in Greece before the situation returns to normal. This had been countered by a Soviet proposal providing for Security Council supervision of American aid to Greece. The proposal was rejected by a vote of four (U.K., Belgium, Brazil and Australia) to two (U.S.S.R., Poland). This time there were five absentions (U.S., China, France, Colombia and Syria).

The Meaning of Absentions

In UN circles the great number of absentions aroused considerable comment and was accepted as a strong if silent indication of the belief of most of the abstaining powers that in any similar future case UN machinery should be called into use in the first place. Some of the abstentionists later stated privately that the Economic and Social Council which was in session at the time of the Truman proposals could have been used, and should at least have been consulted on the matter.

A Polish amendment to the Soviet resolution, voted in conformity with procedure before the Soviet resolution, received even shorter shrift. It received only two votes (U.S.S.R., Poland), all the other powers abstaining. The amendment read: "In accordance with the resolution of the 56th plenary meeting of the General Assembly . . . such aid [from the U.S.] cannot be used as a political weapon and shall be distributed without discrimination because of race, creed or political belief." After the voting Dr. Katz-Suchy, Poland's delegate, wanted it noted that nine members of the Security Council had abstained on a General Assembly resolution. Meanwhile the Council's Balkan Commission, now in Geneva after completing its investigation of the Greek frontier areas, began working on a report scheduled for delivery this month.

The "Corfu Incident"

The only unanimous decision of the Council was reached when it completed the grant of the mandate over the Pacific Islands to the U.S. (see State of World Organization, April). In another decision, the Council extricated itself from the impasse over the "Corfu incident" (caused by a Russian veto of a resolution rebuking Albania) by referring this question to the International Court for decision. This it did by a vote of eight to nothing, U.S.S.R. and Poland abstaining and the U.K., as party to the dispute, not participating.

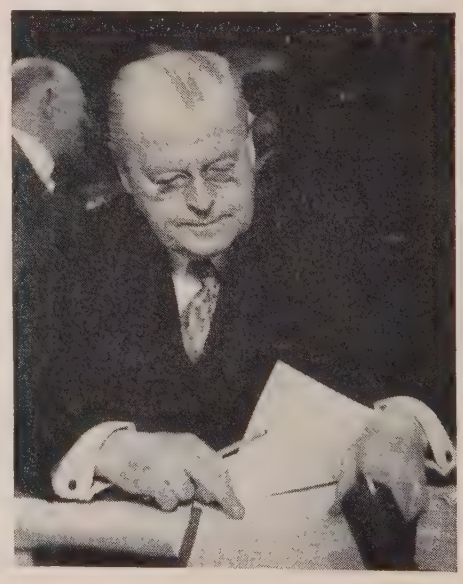
In asking for this transfer, Sir Alexander Cadogan, British delegate, bitterly attacked the Russian use of the veto as "strangling the will of the majority" and rendering "sterile and impotent" the operations of the Security Council. Answering this attack, Gromyko contended that the U.K. had failed to substantiate its case with factual evidence.

Progress on Disarmament

Sitting as a Commission on Conventional Armaments (disarmament) the Council early last month, heard Joao Carlos Muniz, Brazil, describe small nations as "permanent victims" and plead that since the big powers "have reserved almost exclusively for themselves, the power to wage war, dictate peace . . . and within the UN the prerogative of vetoing the will of the rest of the world, it follows that the permanent members should stand up to the corresponding responsibilities."

In this particular instance, one of the "corresponding responsibilities" decided upon was the elaboration of a plan of work—for procedure in discussion and implementation of disarmament—which the Commission will submit to the Council for approval. Since disarmament talks, to date, have largely bogged down because of the "insecure atmosphere" in international affairs, adoption of the current "working plan," it is expected, may speed up operations through dispelling some prevailing doubts by freer exchange of views in sub-committee.

The question of atomic control proceeded along analogous lines, ending



Austin prepares his speech.

the month with little definitive progress. The United States again stressed its contention that the only real way to control atomic production, lay in the creation of an *international monopoly*. Supporting this proposal, Frederick H. Osborn, U. S. deputy representative on the AEC, announced the U. S. would retain its national monopoly until such time as it could be handed over to an international authority, with real safeguards. For summaries of the Austin and Gromyko speeches, see WORLD FILES.

The International "Police Force"

MEANWHILE, the Military Staff Committee, after months of discussion on the projected UN "International Police Force", worked on the final details of its first report to the Security Council. This is expected to deal chiefly with the principles involved in setting up such a force, without proposing any definitive schedule of the forces to be supplied by the various nations. The probability is that such units will remain under national command until and unless called into action by UN. In the latter case they would be under strategic command of the Committee.

It was further revealed that of the 50 items on the agenda for decision, agreement has been reached by the Committee on about 35. Of the remaining 15, the U. S., U. K., France and China have agreed on ten and can probably reach agreement on the remaining five; the U.S.S.R. however has not yet announced its position. And since unanimity is the rule, these 15 points may be omitted from the Committee's report.

Gromyko looks over his notes.

GROMYKO replied before a tense audience four days later. As usual when an important discussion takes place, the auditorium at Lake Success was completely filled. This time, among the listeners, was a large group of West Point cadets.

UN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES (UNESCO)

ONE of the main topics of the UNESCO Executive Board which met during April in Paris was to promote a freer exchange of information. Many members stressed the urgent need to lower censorship barriers impeding the free flow of information.

A lively controversy developed as to the advisability of extending UNESCO educational activities to Germany and other ex-enemy countries. The United States, the United Kingdom and France voiced their approval preliminary to broaching the subject to the Inter-Allied Commission in Berlin. Dr. Falski, of Poland, vehemently objected to this proposal and termed the plan to re-educate ex-enemy countries a waste of time and money. He demanded that no money be spent in these countries without express approval of UNESCO's executive council. After an explanation by Dr. Huxley that only a study of conditions in Germany will be undertaken in 1947, it was decided that no project will be adopted without the Council's approval.

The Board approved the establishment of a scientific institute in the Hylean Amazon area to study ways to make this dense rain forest more inhabitable.

UNESCO's $6,000,000 budget for 1947 was approved. Jean Thomas, of France, was named assistant director general of the Organization.

EDUCATIONAL experts met in Paris during April to discuss UNESCO's program of fundamental education through mass media. One of the major steps this year in the fight against illiteracy will be three "pilot," or test projects, in Haiti, China and British West Africa. These will be the experimental areas where UNESCO experts, with local authorities, will find the best ways to promote enlightenment, particularly in the fields of health and agriculture. In his opening speech, Dr. Julian Huxley urged that a universal auxiliary language be adopted to make UNESCO's educational program more efficient. Basic English, Basic Russian or Esperanto were suggested as the auxiliary tongue.

Freedom of Information

FIVE international conferences to advance freedom of information will be held during 1947: the UN-sponsored conference on freedom of information prepared by the Human Rights Commission in cooperation with UNESCO; the Atlantic City conference on telecommunications on May 15; the Universal Postal Union Congress in Paris on May 6; the conference of the International Organization of Journalists in June and the congress of radio and press, both to be held in Prague.

BALANCE SHEET OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, FOURTH SESSION

THE Economic and Social Council wound up its four-week fourth session by chalking up a number of dramatic achievements in emergency short-term work as well as concrete advances in longer-term questions. The result was that the Council's mandate under the Charter—the creation of conditions of stability and well-being conducive to peaceful and friendly relations among nations—was advanced on a broad front.

Throughout, the meetings were marked by the universality of topics handled amid almost complete absence of controversy, rather than the dominant character of any of the subjects discussed.

European Economic Reconstruction

CHIEF among the Council's achievements, since it is one of the most urgent short-term needs, was the creation and definitive shaping up of the Economic Commission for Europe, which scheduled its first meeting in Geneva, May 2, to map out operations under its broad terms of reference. Implementing this achievement, the UN scored another major gain when it persuaded the internationally known Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, to resign his post of Minister of Trade in the Swedish Government to accept the post of Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission. Myrdal thus becomes *de facto* director general of the new European reconstruction agency.

Prior to the Economic and Social Council session Chairman Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (center) discusses a document with Jan Papanek, Czechoslovakia (l.), and Leroy D. Stinebower, U. S. (second from right).

Membership in the ECE includes all European states which are members of the UN, as well as the United States. Its mandate to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe" characterizes the urgency of the work ahead. This is the first time a Commission of the Council has been empowered to make direct contacts with governments concerned. It is further charged with "strengthening the economic relations of the European states among themselves and the rest of the world, and the general raising of European economic activity." As regards the last named, its chief efforts will be directed toward reduction of tariff and other frontier barriers to free economic exchanges.

Rebuilding Asia and Far East

MORE urgently in need of primary development than is currently the case on the European continent, Asia and the Far East presented the Economic and Social Council a two-fold problem. Reconstruction of course was every whit as urgent as in Europe. But the handicap was lack of statistics comparable to those available from Europe. Furthermore, as regards development, there was no information as to the extent of the needs. Thus, although the Council created an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (*U.N. World*, April), the new organization emerged with only a skeleton framework and no definitive terms of reference.

Membership "in the first instance" consists of Australia, China, France, India, the Netherlands, Philippine Republic, Siam, U.S.S.R., the U.K. and the U.S. But provision for later expansion was made in that ". . . any state in this area which may hereafter become a member of the UN shall thereupon be admitted as a member to this Commission."

Economics of Africa and Middle East

LAST of the war-devastated areas to be discussed, Africa and the Middle East came out of the fourth session the least favored, in that no preliminary form was given an Economic Commission for those areas. As with the Far East, the problem in Africa and the Middle East was more one of development than reconstruction; moreover the economic "grouping" of the Middle Eastern States and North Africa still remains to be made.

The French insisted on their particular situation because the North African possessions form an integral part of metropolitan French economy; their demand for North African inclusion in the European Commission's competence may well be one of the major topics of debate at the next session of the Economic and Social Council.

In Search of Stability

ACTION on recommendations from the Council's Employment and Economic Commission was somewhat overshadowed by the creation of the two Economic Commissions outlined above. The scope of discussions, however, was world-wide, keynoted on the interdependence of employment and development. Without the one, the other inevitably must fall off. And in the case of development, any marked falling off could easily precipitate a grave international economic crisis. Council delegates repeatedly stressed that indiscriminate pursuit of full employment policies in highly industrialized countries would defeat its own ends unless parallelled by development of under-developed areas to open new markets.

In a single resolution on this subject, the Council requested the Commission to supply regular reports on world economic conditions and trends. It is also instructed to prepare early reports on international action for better utilization of world resources of labor, materials and capital with a view to international action to maintain full employment.

Making Figures That Talk

GREATEST factor after language, for intelligibility in an international conference, is a basis for comparison. This enables detailed analysis of any subject; from labor markets to cost of living; from wheat consumption to steel production. Somewhere in such examination, there must be found a constant, a common denominator for conversion of facts from the ephemeral abstract, into all that is implied by the word "statistics."

A substantial achievement of this

fourth session was the constructive attention the Council gave to the report of its Statistical Commission, which, having graduated from the organizational stage, is now coming to grips with substantive issues. With an eye to better coordination in the field of UN statistical operations, the Council authorized the Statistical Commission to invite up to seven world statistical experts to guide its future operations. It also recommended the convening of an International Statistical Congress in Washington next September.

Progress in Human Rights

IN COMPARISON with the acrimonious discussions in the Human Rights Commission last February, discussion of that Commission's report in the Council was far less stormy than might have been expected. Almost without obstacle, the Council rapidly disposed of the elections of members of the two sub-commissions—those for Freedom of the Press and Information and for Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of minorities, from lists of nominee experts, submitted by member nations on the basis of competence rather than nationality.

Aside from its general terms of reference to examine "the rights, obligations and practices" to be included in the concept of freedom of information, the Council entrusted the sub-commission to prepare a draft agenda for an international conference on freedom of the press, radio and films early in 1948. It also invited the International Organization of Journalists to send an observer to its meetings.

International Bill of Human Rights

AFTER brief discussion during which the drafting group entrusted with drawing up an International Bill of Human Rights was increased from three to eight members,* procedure on writing that Bill was agreed as follows: the eight-man drafting group will prepare an international bill for presentation in the form of a draft to the Human Rights Commission at its second session. Material for this will be drawn from documentation to be supplied from the Secretariat.

Throughout, the drafting group is expected to be greatly assisted by the important "Yearbook of Human Rights" actually in preparation by the Social Affairs Commission.

Currency Problems

MUCH of the future development of the Council's programs hinges on the ability of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide funds, particularly as regards the functioning of the Economic Commissions for Europe. This, in its turn, is dependent on availabilty of freely convertible foreign exchange. The Council therefore requested the Secretariat to prepare a comprehensive survey, not only of national currency situations, but also of so-called "normal" import-export balances and their relationship to reconstruction import needs.

*Australia, China, Chile, France, Lebanon, United States, United Kingdom and U.S.S.R.

THREE NEW MEMBERS FOR INTERNATIONAL BANK

ITALY, Syria, and Lebanon became the 42nd, 43rd and 44th nations to sign the Articles of Argeement of the International Bank and Fund. Italy's Fund quota is $180,000,000; its Bank subscription, 1,800 shares. Respective figures for Syria are $6,500,000 and 65 shares; for Lebanon, $4,500,000 and 45 shares.

WHO IN SINGAPORE

THE World Health Organization has taken over the Epidemiological Information Bureau in Singapore, formerly operated by the League of Nations. The Bureau relays information on epidemic control throughout the Far East. . . .

RISING BIRTH RATES

THERE is a baby boom these days, according to the UN. Births in Finland jumped from 17.7 per 1,000 people in 1940 to 40.7 in 1945. The U. S. birth rate shows an 11.7 per cent increase. One exception is India where 1,000,000 fewer babies were born in 1945 than in 1937. In view of these statistics, the *UN Bulletin of Statistics* predicts a serious shortage of schools within the next ten years.

20,000,000 HUNGRY CHILDREN

DR. L. RAJCHMAN, chairman of the executive board of the International Children's Emergency Fund, is visiting Czechoslovakia, Italy and Poland to survey needs and services available to set up a daily supplemental meal program—the goal of ICEF. Officials of the Fund estimate that 20,000,000 children in Europe need supplemental meals. This would cost $400,000,000 annually. About half of the expense must be borne by "interested governments." The balance must be sent into needy countries in the form of food from surplus countries.

TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT

AT THEIR meeting in Geneva, which began last month, delegates to the International Conference on Trade and Employment concluded the first stage of their preparatory work. They agreed that the Charter for the proposed International Trade Organization (ITO) and forthcoming tariff negotiations should be considered together.

During the opening days of the Conference, the U. S. made it clear that unless completely multilateral negotiations (as agreed in London) are the rule, the proposed American concessions were likely to be reduced. Britain, France, New Zealand and Australia stated that some degree of preferential trade agreements should continue for a while.

Speaking for the devastated countries, France asked for a transition period before the ITO Charter goes into effect. Asiatic and South American countries urged protection so they can develop economically.

Sir Stafford Cripps, U K. (right), chats with Sir Raghaven Pillai, India, at the opening of the UN Conference on Trade and Employment in Geneva.

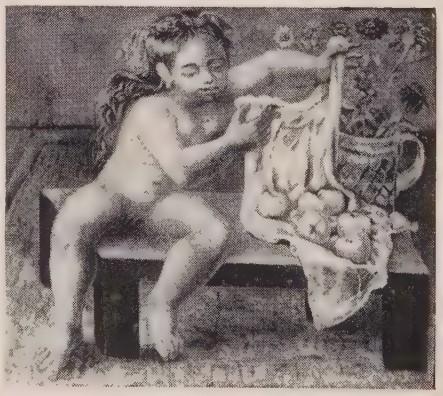
Alfredo Zalce, painter of "Piruli" (The Lollipop), is an exponent of the caustic, humorous and tragic in the Mexican temperament

YOUNG PAINTERS SET THE PACE IN MEXICAN ART

The younger Mexican Artists are painting with originality and freshness, yet retaining their country's tradition and flavor, says Carlos Merida, authority on Mexican art.

IN COMMON with artists in other countries, Mexico's young painters are today moving toward a new poetic-abstract romanticism. A wish to escape the tragic war and postwar years? It seems logical to suppose so. But while Mexico's contemporary painters follow the rhythm of universal art, their style is thoroughly Mexican. The color and smell of the Mexican earth is in their painting.

This Mexican neo-romanticism is rooted in the traditions of the country's basic cultures. Their predecessors, the pioneers of the so-called Mexican Renaissance, also kept to that tradition, but their work was fundamentally different from that of the young men of today. Nevertheless, Mexico's young artists have not discarded the teaching of the older painters. They have assimilated and used it, and instead of breaking with the established line they have continued it, though from another point of view. The difference between the two groups lies in the intention, the essence, the contents of their work. The work of Rivera, Orozco, Tamayo, Siqueiros and Rodríguez Lozano will remain as examples marking a brilliant period of our creative art. But Mexico's young painters want to be themselves. They want to paint in the language of their time and to work in their own way.



Soriano's "June in April"

The painters in this new group have forsaken sectarianism, giving themselves freely to the play of invention, to recreating forms and establishing new values. Their work is graphic, but without tricks or falseness.

Soriano—Informal Surrealist

THIS inventiveness and transmutation of values is found in Juan Soriano, perhaps the youngest of the rising Mexican painters. A true artist of his time, Soriano is subtle, intelligent, mordant. His painting stems from the Mexican folk paintings found in *retablos* (pictures drawn on wood). His colors have a kinship with tavern paintings, but are particularly distinguished by subtle, delicate harmonies, always in perfect accord with his theme. His work is imbued with that romantic surrealism so dear to the artists of our time, although not as the product of a cold imagination but of controlled feeling, of refined sensibility, of emotion existing within an established order. He already has what is called "style."

Soriano's stamp is unmistakable and is found on every one of his canvases. He is the least formalized of the younger painters. In his work, tradition is spontaneous and unrestrained. He is essentially Mexican. His knowledge goes no further than the needs of his art, so his work always has perfect balance. Whether his canvases are large or small, they always give the effect of perfect unity. His themes come from his contact with life, that is to say, with everyday Mexican life. He can transform his emotions into plastic emotions, often of the highest poetic quality.

"Portrait of Helen" by Juan O'Gorman, master of austere, compact surrealism

Martínez' "The Mathematician"

Alfredo Zalce is a master of his craft and a first-rate creative artist. Like Soriano's, his work stems from Mexican folk painting, but his idiom is essentially different. It is caustic, humorous, tragic, like the Mexican temperament itself. He likes to travel about the country, living an ordinary Mexican life, and his pictorial art is full of local feeling. Zalce draws, engraves, illustrates and paints. What-

---

By

CARLOS MERIDA

The Author: Though he was born in Guatemala, Carlos Mérida is considered one of Mexico's leading painters. Now in his early forties, he has lived in Mexico for over twenty-five years. At 17 he traveled in Europe, and settled in Paris for a while, where he studied with Anglada and Modigliani. Two years later he returned to Guatemala, where he experimented with Guatemalan folklore themes, striving for an original "American" style. Shortly afterwards he went to Mexico to exhibit his paintings, and has lived and painted there ever since. Although his style has changed in recent years, becoming more abstract and surrealist, the Indian theme usually predominates in his work. Many of his paintings are in the United States, either in private collections or in museums.

Anguiano's "Street Circus"

ever his medium, his work is always marked by a controlled imagination, by subtle re-evaluation of tradition, without deforming or prostituting it.

Dynamic Classicism

"THE Mathematician" is a classic example of Ricardo Martínez' work, which is monumental because of the proportions of its organic elements. He likes to paint large figures in infinite space in the surrealist style, but always controlled by disciplined feeling, an uncommon poetic gift. His coloring, drawing, and composition are very Mexican. His esthetic sense is often associated with Tamayo, sometimes with Rodríguez Lozano. If these two men have influenced him, he could not have had better masters. But this influence is a matter of concepts, values, relation. Martínez, within his many esthetic preoccupations, already shows a style which he has worked to purify step by step through constant and tenacious selection. One of the most gifted of the younger painters, he has already won wide recognition.

Guerrero Galván, also considered one of our best painters, is an artist of another type. His drawing is impeccable, and he uses it in graceful and dynamic compositions. His fantasy is exuberant, as is only proper in a great romantic.

José Chávez Morado also has his roots in folk art. He likes to interpret Mexican life and environment, and he does so with vigor and grace. Interesting and original, his work is full of fantasy. "Symptoms of Decadence," full of the devils, judases and witches so dear to Mexican folk tradition, is a good example.

About Guillermo Meza I will repeat what I said some time ago: "Still very young, of Indian origin, he paints tremendous, apocalyptic scenes effortlessly. The vitality of his Indian tradition is easily detected in his esthetic line, which reaches its highest expression in 'Coatilucue, Mother of the Gods.' This facet of his work, carried out with good technique and firmness of line, will no doubt give way to more exact, more intrinsic situations. I mean by this that this aspect of his work, which is somewhat illustrative, will become secondary when the artist uses his emotion for less anecdotal pictorial situations." His later painting, "The Shirt," proves my prediction.

Another young painter, Francisco Dosamnates, creates large paintings of definite forms. His paintings of nudes are in the Mexican tradition because of the simplicity of the lines, the soberness of the colors, the exactness of the values.

Two Outstanding Women Painters

NOW we come to our two outstanding women painters. Olga Costa and Frida Kahlo. Their themes, too, are in the popular vein, but each handles them in her own way. While Olga gives her fantasy free rein, Frida rounds out her concepts in a more poetic, refined, and intellectual way so that her surrealism is more easily apparent.

Olga knows form and color, and plays with both elements in concepts in which winged birds, colorful butterflies and opulent shapes abound. Frida draws compactly, imagines, recreates and fixes forms to a conceptual and visible reality, but transforms her values until she reaches poetic heights by assimilating the similar elements.

Kahlo's "The Two Fridas"

"The Angel" by Guerrero Galván

Juan O'Gorman has a unique place among young Mexican painters. With Frida Kahlo, he best represents Mexican surrealism. His work, already that of a master, is austere, compact, as one would expect of an architect like O'Gorman. But within that austerity, his work is caustic, full of imagination and fantasy. His painting, very Mexican in theme, is much in the style of Bosco and Breughel. He has not, however, been influenced by them. I refer to the spirit of his work.

Raul Anguiano travels on different though no less interesting paths. He is a born painter and therefore his themes are free, noble, magnificent. As in "Street Circus," they are taken, like those of all these young artists, from the most elemental aspects of Mexican life.

Alfonso Michel, trained in Paris, is doing work which is based on reminiscenses of archaic Mexican forms. His expression is in evolution and promises to place him among our top painters one day.

This bird's eye view of contemporary Mexican painting shows that with these young artists in the vanguard, Mexican painting is in full bloom and has promise of a great future.

For these enthusiastic painters have proved their ability both to reach a high standard in creative work while at the same time giving to their art a truly Mexican flavor. Thus they rank among the most interesting artists working today.

CALENDAR OF WORLD EVENTS

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Almanacs from All Over the World

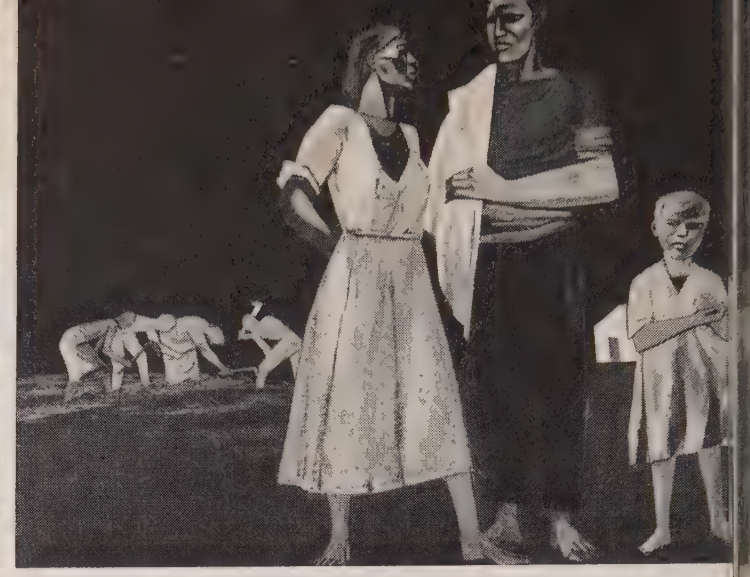
MAY

1947

Days of the Month, Births, Deaths, Marriages and Festivals	Important Events	Historical Anniversaries, Notes, Comments and Forecasts
1. T. May Day International Labor Day	**IRO* Preparatory Commission, Geneva** **UN Film Bd., Quarterly Mtg., Lake S.**	Dewey won battle of Manila Bay (1898) Change no clout till May be out—*Old Prov.*
2. F. Leonardo da Vinci died (1520) James F. Byrnes born (1879)	**Economic Commiss. for Europe, Geneva** Abolition of Japanese House of Peers	Chas. II chartered Hudson Bay Co. (1670) Fall of Berlin (1945)
3. S. Arbor Day in El Salvador Niccoló Machiavelli b. (1469)	Kentucky Derby 3rd Walloon Congress opens, Brussels	Cabral discovered Brazil (1500) Polish constitution adopted (1791)
4. S. Youth Day in China Thomas H. Huxley born (1825)	Nat'l & Inter-Am. Music Week begins Ireland vs. Portugal, Soccer, Dublin	"Wives will begin to clean house." *Tel.Al.* Yanks took Bizerte (1943)
5. M. Karl Marx born (1818) Napoleon died (1821)	British Industries Fair opens Int'l Travel Exposition opens, New York	States-General opened, France (1789) 1st congress of Cuban Republic (1902)
6. T. Sigmund Freud born (1856) Rabindranath Tagore b. (1861)	**ILO || Ind. Comm. Inl'd. Trnsp., Geneva** **1st ICAO† Gen'l. Assembly, Montreal**	1st postal stamp issued, Eng. (1840) Dutch pd. Indians $24 for Manhattan (1626)
7. W. Johannes Brahms born (1833) Robert Browning born (1812)	Alemán returns to Mexico 102nd Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta	S.S. Lusitania torpedoed (1915) "Eager buds ready to burst." *Old Farmer's*
8. T. Harry S. Truman born (1884) John Stuart Mill died (1873)	Int'l Music Festival opens, Prague Horse-race Meeting, Limerick, Eire	V-E Day (1945) "Home Sweet Home" first sung publicly (1823)
9. F. Frederick Schiller died (1805) James M. Barrie born (1860)	Big Horn Basin Air Show, Worland, Wyo. Donegal Town Fair, Eire	Spanish took possession of Fla. (1781) Byrd flew over North Pole (1926)
10. S. Confederate Memorial Day Sir Thomas Lipton born (1850)	10th census begins, Argentina International Sample Fair opens, Paris	Rudolph Hess landed in Scotland (1941) Fish and visitors smell in 3 days *P. Richard's*
11. S. Mother's Day Bidú Sayao, singer, born (1908)	George VI returns to Eng. from S. Africa Ceramics Fair, Tarbes, France	Churchill visited Washington, D.C. (1943) Minnesota entered the Union (1858)
12. M. Florence Nightingale b. (1820) Marshal Pilsudski died (1935)	**Comm. on Progressive Development and Codific. Int. Law, 1st meeting, Lake Suc.**	George VI crowned in London (1937) "May rain makes the year's bread." *Sp. Prov.*
13. T. Alphonse Daudet born (1840) Sir Arthur Sullivan born (1842)	**Int'l. Teleg. Consult. Comm., Lisbon** Oxfordshire Agric. Society Show, Oxford	U.S. declared war on Mexico (1846) Jamestown settlement founded, Va. (1607)
14. W. Independence Day in Paraguay G. D. Fahrenheit born (1686)	Irish 2,000 Guineas Horse Race, Curragh Italian Industries Fair, Geneva	U.S. Women's Army Corps est. (1942) Jenner est. vaccination principles (1796)
15. T. Ascension Thursday—Holy Day Metchnikoff, Rus. sc.,b. (1845)	**Int'l. Radio Conf., Atlantic City** **FAO# Rice Study, Trivandrum, India**	Metropolitan Museum of Art opened (1882) Gas rationing started in U.S. (1942)
16. F. Jan Kiépura born (1902) Honoré de Balzac born (1799)	Indonesian Trade Un. Congress opens, Java Int. Golf (Walker Cup), St. Andrews, Scot.	Lincoln nominated for President (1860) F'cast—Tornadoes in South. *Agric. Alm.*
17. S. Norwegian Independence Day Botticelli died (1510)	Int'l Philatelic Exhib. opens, New York U.S. Navy Task Force visits Australia	Norwegian constitution adopted (1814) First Kentucky Derby (1875)
18. S. "I Am an American Day" George Meredith died (1909)	Foreign Trade Week opens in U.S. England vs. Switzerland (Soccer), Zurich	Peace Conference opened at Hague (1899) Germans evacuated Cassino (1944)
19. M. Anne Boleyn beheaded (1536) Booth Tarkington died (1946)	**ECOSOC § Fiscal Comm., Lake Success** Pirogue Races held, New Orleans	New England Confederation formed (1643) Languedoc Canal, France, opened (1681)
20. T. Cuban Independence Day Sigrid Undset born (1882)	King George VI holds investiture, London Total eclipse of sun, Bocayuna, Brazil	Amelia Earhart flew Atlantic (1932) Nazis bombed Crete (1941)
21. W. Navy Day in Chile Lázaro Cárdenas born (1895)	Canad. Cham. of Commerce Conv., Vancouver Open Tennis Tourn. starts, Harrogate, Eng.	American Red Cross organized (1881) British Daylight Saving began (1916)
22. T. National Maritime Day Chief Justice Stone d. (1946)	Mid-America Exposition opens, Cleveland 500th Anniv. celebration Bordeaux Univ.	Aaron Burr tried for treason (1807) 1st steamer crossing of Atlantic (1819)
23. F. Capt. Wm. Kidd hanged (1701) Thomas Hood born (1799)	Cooperative Union Congress, Brighton Ballymagovern Fair, Co. Cavan, Eire	Henry VIII divorced Catherine (1533) Italy entered World War I (1915)
24. S. British Empire Day Queen Victoria born (1819)	Int'l. Floricultural Exhibit opens, Lisbon Opening of opera season, Buenos Aires	Morse sent 1st telegraphic message (1844) Brooklyn Bridge opened (1883)
25. S. Argentine Independence Day Pentecost or Whitsunday	Brit. Legion Conv., Douglas, I. of Man Opening of new Japanese Diet	Bismarck sank Hood (1941) Bubonic plague at Marseilles (1720)
26. M. Samuel Pepys died (1703) Alexander Pushkin born (1799)	**FAO Sub-Comm. Plant & Anim. Stks.,** **Int. Emerg. Food Council, Washington**	Indian Territory organized (1864) B-29's bombed Tokyo (1945)
27. T. Alighieri Dante born (1265) John Calvin died (1564)	Horse Race Meeting, Tramore, Eire Derbyshire Agricult. Show, Derby, Eng.	Chicago World's Fair opened (1933) British sank Bismarck (1941)
28. W. Afghanistan Independence Day Dionne Quintuplets born (1934)	West Zone Trap Shooting Carn., Salt Lake C. Agricultural Show, Belfast	Dunkerque evacuation began (1940) 1st conting. AEF sailed for France (1917)
29. T. Patrick Henry born (1736) John Barrymore died (1942)	Liqueurs Fair opens, Angers, France Striped bass season opens, Kentucky	Fall of Constantinople (1453) "Thin out fruittree buds & shoots." *O. Moore's*
30. F. Memorial Day Joan of Arc burned (1431)	Nat'l. Accordion Festival, Lucerne 500 mi. Grand Prix auto race, Indianapolis	De Soto landed in Florida (1539) Battle for Rome began (1944)
31. S. Union Day in South Africa Walt Whitman born (1819)	Int'l Sample Fair, Zagreb, Yugoslavia Brit. Fed Master Printers Conf., Brighton	Battle of Jutland (1916) Johnstown, Pa., flood; 2,000 died (1899)

† International Civil Aviation Organization. § Economic & Social Council # Food and Agriculture Organization. || International Labor Organization * International Refugee Organization.

"We, the peoples of the United Nations. . . ." A scene from UN's educational film-strip: "The United Nations at Work: The Secretariat."



Another scene from the same film, depicting people of dependent territories, who look to the Trusteeship Council for protection.

Movies

EDUCATIONAL FILMS ATTAIN SCHOOL AGE

By COURTNEY ANDERSON and RUTH K. RIVKIN

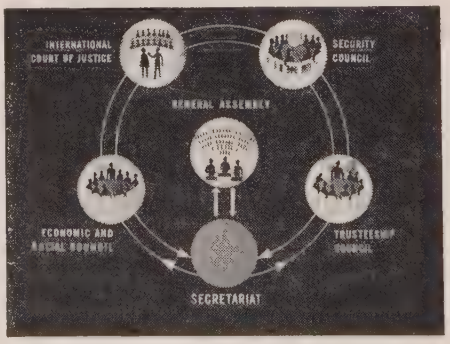
THE Audio-Visual Aids Section of the Los Angeles City Schools has a budget this year of $240,000 for the purpose of using film as an educational means. In the most film-conscious city in the world, this is not surprising, but will the rest of the country, to say nothing of the rest of the world, follow suit?

During the war, the Armed Services employed the training film for every type of instruction. These ranged from the philosophical indoctrination of Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series, with its demonstration of the background of the war; to films such as *Don't Be a Sucker*, which warned against enemy racial and religious propaganda; and to the top secret *152* series of the Army Air Forces, with which air crews were briefed just before takeoff by being "flown" via animated maps, topographical miniatures and simulated radar readings to high priority targets in and around Tokyo and Nagoya.

For men in the hospitals, there were such films as *Out of Bed and into Action* and the *Diary of a Sergeant* in which the handless Harold Russell, later famed as the handless ex-sailor in *The Best Years of Our Lives*, showed how a man could learn to manipulate prosthetic devices so as to do most of the things he could do before he was disabled.

Other agencies of the U. S. Government used films with equal effectiveness. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs shot numerous subjects ranging from animated cartoons on how to read and write, and on malaria—its cause and prevention—to films on how to build sanitary outdoor privies. Still others dealt in broadly cultural subjects.

The Office of War Information (remember the magnificent *Tennessee Valley?*), the Department of Agriculture (who will ever forget Pare Lorenz' *The River?*), the State Department and other government agencies produced films during the war and are producing them now.



Graph from the UN film-strip showing the interdependence of UN's various bodies.

Today, the Department of State is the chief producer of informational and educational films. The war-time film duties of the C.I.A.A. in Latin America and the O.W.I. in the rest of the world have been taken over by State and a new section under Assistant Secretary William Benton has been created.

"The Upshur Project"

AN example of the type of film State is making today is temporarily titled *The Upshur Project.* This deals with the successful struggle the Rural Electrification Administration waged against both the ignorance of the people and the tenacity of the privately owned utility companies when it brought electrical power to a rural section of Texas. When completed, *The Upshur Project* will be exhibited to worldwide audiences as part of the endeavor of this country to demonstrate U. S. thinking and achievement.

In addition to making films themselves, State will also distribute abroad motion pictures made by commercial and non-profit companies in the same manner as printed matter is translated, reprinted and distributed by State Department Press Officers.

Among the organizations who have plans for educational films are:

UN Department of Public Information, which is currently producing one film strip a month on the functions of the UN and has scheduled several educational shorts for later this year.

Film Publishers, Inc., which will release a short, *One World or None*, financed by the National Committee of Atomic Information;

United World, which will produce, under the supervision of ex-*March of Time* producer Louis de Rochemont, a series of color shorts on geography;

Protestant Film Council, which plans production of seven pictures this year covering such material as appreciation of democracy, family and business relationships, and spiritual insight of selected Bible passages;

Encyclopedia Britannica Films, with Dr. V. C. Arnspiger as executive vice-president, one of the most important and one of the oldest of the educational-film producing companies, whose schedule calls for at least 24 pictures this year, and which already has translated over 180 of its subjects into foreign languages;

Lutheran World Action, which has a project dealing with the necessity of revitalizing religion among the anti-Christ Nazis; and

The Motion Picture Producers Association, which already has picked 300 shorts of cultural value from the libraries of its member companies and has offered them to the schools on a non-profit rental basis. In addition to this, the M.P.P.A. has projected five educational films, in collaboration with textbook publishers, dealing with such subjects as *Osmosis, Roger Williams* and *Know Your Congress.*

Costs and Rentals

Despite the obvious advantages of film as an educational medium over textbooks for many purposes, there are still definite drawbacks to the full development of this method of teaching. Cost is the primary one. Production expenses run from $5,000 to $10,000 a reel for black and white and 25 per cent higher than that for color. When sold outright to schools, organizations, clubs, etc., they bring from $35 to $45 for black and white and up to $75 for color. They can be rented, however, from film depositories for as little as 50 cents or for as much as $2.50 per reel for one showing. Sixteen-mm. sound projectors, of which 20,000 are now owned by U. S. schools, can be purchased for $300 to $600 depending on whatever make one prefers, and a portable screen runs from $15 to $40, depending on size.

These heavy expenses are a factor, both domestically and internationally, in delaying a more extensive use of the motion picture in schools.

Subject matter, too, is another problem. This is being checked by some companies, such as National Educational Films of New York, an organization of ex-Navy film-makers who, working as a field organization in contact with schools, have done a good deal of work determining actual classroom film needs at specific grade levels and contents.

Also, the effective use of classroom film involves almost specialized training for the teacher on how to use the medium. However, in Philadelphia public schools alone there were more than 25,000 16-mm. film showings last year, while the University of Wisconsin Bureau of Visual Instruction has expanded its staff from nine to 26 within two years.

A Role for UNESCO

Recently, in Philadelphia, John Grierson, famed as the chief of Canada's war-time documentary films, and now director of mass media for United Nations, outlined to the Film Section of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a four-point program of aims.

The program calls for: (1) Study of the film needs of the people of the world, with initial emphasis on Europe, China and the Philippines; (2) study of educational film production; (3) study of educational film distribution, working toward breaking down tariffs to permit full interchange of educational films among nations; and (4) setting up scholarships on an exchange basis among nations, a program which would include exchange of technicians. UNESCO, incidentally, went on record as commending the State Department for its film productions.

It is obvious that we now have the need, the technique and the organizations to make these films. Will enough enthusiasm and enough finance be forthcoming both from government and private sources? Or will the opportunity bog down in public indifference, political red tape and industrial antagonism?

In March the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences presented one of its highest Awards to *Seeds of Destiny*, a U.S. War Department Information and Education film produced and directed by David Miller and written by Art Arthur, concerning the forgotten children of Europe. For more than three months this film has been offered free to U.S. movie exhibitors. Hardly any have requested it.

If educational films really are to come of school age, the peoples of the world must demand the public showing of films with social and informational significance—not only in the schools, but everywhere.

These children, blinded by Nazi terrorists, appear in the U.S. War Department's film: "Seeds of Destiny."

World

The unsettled condition of the world was underscored last month in significant press comments. The political bid of General de Gaulle drew basic criticism from Foreign Minister Bidault's Aube, organ of the catholic M.R.P., formerly all-out for de Gaulle . . . Arabs and Jews drew up their battle lines for the Special Session of the General Assembly . . . Sweden's Commander - in - Chief termed his country a "no man's land" between East and

l'aube

L'Aube, the Paris daily of the M.R.P. close to Foreign Secretary Georges Bidault, offers a typical French comment on General de Gaulle's proposed new party, the *Rassemblement du Peuple Francais.* "It is not quite clear," Jean Benedetti writes, "what this RPF stands for . . . By inviting all Frenchmen and French women to join him in the RPF, is not General de Gaulle suggesting the formation of a new Party which, opposing and supplanting all others, would eventually become the sole party? Those who support the parliamentary regime must prove that it is not necessary to change the framework, the nature, and even the structure of the institutions, in order to insure the authority of the state. The law, M. Vincent Auriol has observed, must overcome all resistance to the law."

דבר

Davar, the leading Labor daily in Palestine, sees more shadows than light in the proposal to take the Palestine issue to the UN Assembly. "To be sure, political Zionism has been an international question from its very inception. The Palestine Mandate is the result of an international decision, and the United Nations Organization has now taken the place of the League of Nations. Nevertheless . . . we know that the fifty-five nations represented in the UNO and struggling among themselves, are banded together in large blocs according to easily recognizable signs, so that every international problem is likely to be turned into a football and our problem in particular."

المقطم

In an interview in *Al Mokattam,* leading paper of the Arab world, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, stated that the Bludan meeting had endorsed taking the Palestine issue to UN. Insisting that Palestine was an integral part of the Arab world, he declared: "Federation or partition would inevitably result in the creation of a Jewish state, to which the Arabs are unanimously opposed. The only solution to which the Arabs will agree is the creation in Palestine of an Arab sovereign state with a representative body on the same lines as those in other Arab countries."

Alþýðubladið

The official organ of Iceland's Social Democratic Party *Althydubladid* complains against the apparently unchecked influx of collaborationists from Denmark into Reykyavik on their way to various South American havens. "The majority of these former Nazis," writes the paper, "acquire small holdings in Reykyavik, although they look upon Iceland merely as a half-way station in their migration. It is not possible to ascertain what the Government intends to do with these refugees from democratic justice, but it appears that the plan is to leave them to themselves."

INDIAN REVIEW

P.C. Saxena contributes a paper "On the Abolition of Zemindari" to the *Indian Review,* a liberal monthly published in Madras. Discussing the proposed scheme of the United Provinces Government, which now obtains four-fifths of its revenue from its 1,100,000 zemindars, or tax- and rent-collecting landlords, to abolish this unfair system inherited from Mogul days, it cautions moderation, and reasonable compensation for losses, so that "the landlords, though deprived of their kingly powers over the lives of their tenants . . . may yet be reconciled to the state of things." But, whatever the results of this move may be, "the abolition of landlordism must be hailed as one of the greatest landmarks in the history of India—and socialism in India."

THE FIJI SAMACHAR
फीजी समाचार

The *Fiji Samachar,* weekly organ of the Fiji Indians, published in Hindu and English, in its leading article "Rebels and Patriots," asks, "Who can serve the masses without displeasing the masters?" Citing such ancient Hindu rebels as Prahlad, Sri Krishna and the Pandavas, along with the British Queen Boadicea, Stephen Langton, Cromwell, Washington, Lenin and Stalin, to prove that "the greatest feats of patriotism cannot be accomplished without rebellion, without suffering and without sacrifice," it ends with a tribute to "India's modern rebel-patriots, Gandhi, Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose."

AMERASIA

Amerasia publishes an interview by Anna Louise Strong with Mao Tze-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, on the subject of Russo-American relations. "Now how can the American reactionaries fight with the Soviet Union," Mao asked, after he had set up teacups and earthenware winecups to illustrate his points. "First of all they have to attack the American people. . . . Next come the other capitalist countries. . . . Everyone knows that if America wants to fight the USSR she must do this through Great Britain, France and China. That means, American reactionaries plan first of all to subjugate these countries."

THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD

The Ethiopian Herald, official English-language weekly of the Addis Ababa government, describes the trial of Dejazmatch Gugsa, the country's top war criminal and the world's first quisling. "The defendant," the indictment charges, "preferred the enslavement of his country to her freedom and independence, and aligned himself with Italy against his Emperor during the hour of her distress and when she needed his service most." Describing the defendant as "this man Gugsa," the prosecutor, Major Mesfin Begashet, asked the death sentence for the former mighty governor of Ogaden Province and ex-son-in-law of the Emperor.

AKŞAM

An editorial in the semi-official Istanbul daily *Aksam* discusses the alleged American suggestion that the former Italian colonies of Libya and Tripolitania be assigned to the U. S. under UN trusteeship. "We feel that this request is justified in view of the fact that America has assumed considerable obligations in the Eastern Mediterranean," the paper writes. "The United States would gain strong bases in the Mediterranean which would strengthen her hand in backing up the principles of the United Nations."

EL TIEMPO

An editorial in *El Tiempo,* Bogotá daily paper, criticizes the special editions of U. S. magazines airmailed to the countries below the Rio Grande. "We have begun to sigh for the good old days," says the editorial, "when they completely ignored us or made mistakes about our history, geography, economics and politics . . . which was less offensive than the scorn with which they now treat us. . . . They ignore diplomatic events of continental significance and concentrate on such things as a Motilón Indian who shoots an arrow at a U. S. oil company engineer or a riot in a Mexican bullring. . . . What Latin American newspaper has claimed that the U. S. adolescents swooning over Frank Sinatra express the country's mentality, or that Dillinger is typical of U. S. civilization?"

ANTIOCH REVIEW

Writing on "American Magazines for Export," in the *Antioch Review,* Reuben S. Nathan discusses the impending "literary invasion of the world" by American publishers and offers certain suggestions and warnings. "What Europe and Asia crave," he says, "is thought which may serve as a basis for philosophical and political orientation in a world of confusion. . . . The average European looks for a solution of his troubles before he looks for entertainment, and he looks for this solution in significant thinking."

Press

West . . . From Turkey and Nationalist China support was voiced for President Truman's policy . . . Russian and Polish papers were apprehensive of potential "world monopolies" and opposed the "scuttling" of Potsdam . . . Misgivings were expressed and advice proffered regarding the contents of American publications destined for audiences abroad . . . Nazi "refugees" were denounced in Iceland by a Social Democratic daily.

Der Bund

The importance of adequate dissemination of Swiss information in the U. S. is stressed in an article by Minister Walter Stampfli in the Radical Democratic Berne daily *Der Bund*. The average Swiss citizen is quite naturally better informed about events in the United States than the American man-in-the-street about Swiss matters since the small take much interest in the great, while the great but occasionally take notice of the small. The author urges "that interesting articles about life in Switzerland be published regularly in American newspapers."

Queen's Quarterly

F. R. Scott, who writes on "Canada, Quebec and Bilingualism" in *Queen's Quarterly*, believes that every Canadian should write and speak both French and English. "Many people in Canada who would ardently support the individual civil liberties," he says, "hesitate to accept the extension of the idea of liberty to the racial and linguistic group. On the other hand, it is probably fair to say that the French-speaking minority in Canada has always shown more concern for minority rights than for individual liberties. What is needed is a blending of the two correlative ideas."

Hispano Americano

As quoted in the weekly news magazine *Hispano Americano*, Daniel Cossío Villegas, head of the Institute of Economic Culture in Mexico City, takes a dim view of Mexico's immediate future. Pointing out that for some years Mexico has been heading into a serious crisis, he says that the country now is faced with two possibilities: to let the United States take over, which he does not recommend, or to let the Mexican rightist parties, out since 1910, try their hand at directing the country's affairs. "But what can Mexico hope for from the rightists?" he asks. "In Mexico, as elsewhere, they lack the understanding and generosity which our unhappy country needs." His solution: that the now virtually forgotten principles of the Revolution, which in 1910 overthrew dictator Porfirio Díaz, be reestablished.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT

Discussing the new press law proposed by the Finnish Government, Helsinki's progressive daily *Helsingin Sanomat* calls attention to dangers inherent in the inclusion of a provision stipulating that a periodical may be suspended upon request of a foreign government if it is found that its editorial contents endanger friendly international relations. The paper is "seriously apprehensive that this bill might not conform to those clauses of the peace treaty which guarantee freedom of the press. Such a bill may actually provoke conflicts, since a foreign power would be afforded a chance to interfere with another's freedom of press and expression."

SVENSKA DAGBLADET

The conservative Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet* prominently features an outspoken speech of General Jung, commander in chief of the Swedish Army. "Sweden," the paper quotes General Jung as saying, "is today in a no man's land between Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. . . . Should the United Nations collapse in the wake of conflict between the Great Powers, there will be nothing left to enable us to persist in our traditional position of neutrality. . . . Under no circumstances will Sweden seek the solution of its problems through the conclusion of military alliances with one or another group of the Great Powers."

Neues Österreich

To its evident dismay, Vienna's *Neues Oesterreich*, organ of Democratic Unity, finds that the Austrian government plans to "ration summer holidays . . . for the alleged purpose of preventing black marketeers from foraging in various spas." Protesting against any such action which, it maintains, "violates the right of free movement guaranteed to every Austrian citizen under the Constitution," the Viennese daily declares that the real motive is to keep starving city dwellers from descending upon the well-fed rural population.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly

Walter Fletcher M.P., writing on "Misgovernment in China: the Prospects for British Trade" in the weekly edition of the liberal *Manchester Guardian*, discusses what he calls the "swift decomposition" of China proper and, by way of contrast, the recovery of Hong Kong, which by providing law and order and a stable currency has "virtually taken on the job of all the previous treaty ports." The article concludes: "If China is to be rebuilt and become again a great contributor to Far Eastern prosperity and stability it can only be done with the use of Hong Kong as a permanent and solid base for such efforts. Once more, Great Britain and the Empire can play a fine and inspiring role in helping China and its misgoverned millions with benefit to ourselves, but only if we retain—and make it clear that we are going to retain—Hong Kong."

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

"The interests of peace call for a united German State and democratization," states *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet Government, in a recent article discussing plans for the federalization of Germany. "A nation of many millions whose territory is artifically divided will always aim at unification." According to the Soviet daily the Rhineland and Westphalia would become a domain of British and U. S. steel magnates if this area were to be separated from the rest of Germany. "The formation of a Ruhr combine as part of the world syndicate of metal monopolists would result. . . . Establishment of their rule over Rhineland, Bavaria, Hesse, Baden-Wuerttemberg and other German states," concludes the article, "is part and parcel of the program of groups which are preparing fantastic schemes of world domination."

ŻYCIE WARSZAWY

"There is no doubt that a wholesale attack against the Potsdam Agreement has been launched at Moscow," comments *Zycie Warszawy*, official Polish daily. The Warsaw paper expresses apprehension that the Potsdam Agreement is being diplomatically scuttled by Foreign Secretary Bevin and Secretary of State Marshall. It cites reports recently submitted to the Council of Foreign Ministers alleging the failure of denazification and demilitarization programs in the western zones of Germany. "This sad state of affairs only goes to show what can result from the slightest infringement of the Potsdam Agreement, the basis of European peace and security. . . . Any revision of the Potsdam decisions can only favor Germany."

RUDÉ PRÁVO

Rudé Právo, Prague's Communist daily newspaper calls attention to frequent clandestine crossings of the Czechoslovakia frontier by Germans, and demands swift eradication of this "scourge in the border regions." "This is a most serious problem which deserves our prompt attention," says the writer. "It is generally believed that these violations of our territorial integrity are caused by the food crisis in Germany. . . . This, however, is only the apparent reason. The Germans are flocking to us driven by a lust for revenge. They are often in the pay of foreign intelligence services as saboteurs and spies."

中央日報

The Kuomintang newspaper *Chung Yang Jih Pao* (*Central Daily News*) hails President Truman's statement on aid to Greece and Turkey as "a turning point in U. S. foreign policy." Comparing the action with Lend-Lease, the paper says, "Whereas Roosevelt aimed at isolating armed invasion, Truman is seeking to isolate political aggression. This will serve as a deadly blow to instigators of revolution in countries now economically bankrupt in the wake of the war." Now that "mankind has entered a crucial stage where disputes between Democracy and Communism are inevitable," it continues, "America is the only country able to help the weaker nations stem the tide of totalitarianism."

Points of View... Cartoonists of the World Take Stock.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY

Chinese merchant and Government official stand hand in hand. Merchant's bar of gold is labeled "riches"; the official's medal, "triumph" (together the two characters mean "Victory"). Legend on peasant's rice bowl reads: "First Anniversary."

Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai.

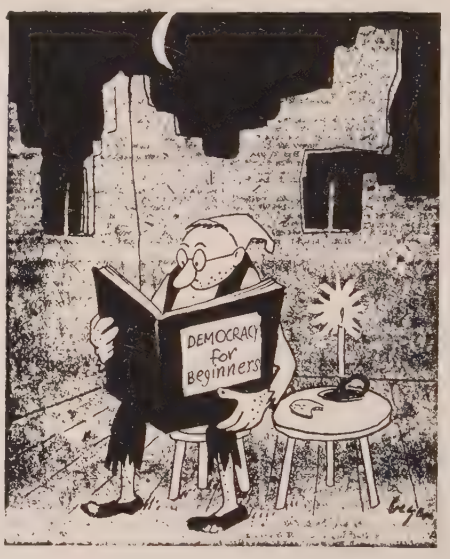
The engaged couple: "Father is in a bad mood; do you think he will approve?"

De Stem van Nederland, Amsterdam.

THE GERMANS YEARN FOR A NEW FUEHRER.

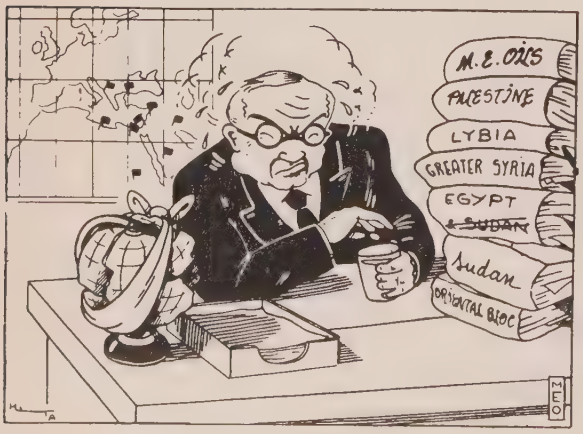
The Allies might agree to this *ersatz*.

From A to Z, Kraków.



". . . If I'd only learned that 20 years ago!"

Neue Zeitung, Munich.



Mr. BEVIN'S HEADACHES

Middle East Opinion, Cairo.

Modern version of the legendary wolf.

Die Weltwoche, Zurich.

IN THE MOSCOW BEAUTY SHOP

Peace: "The last face-lift didn't last long. I hope you'll all agree on the treatment this time before you start."

Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney.

THE DACHSHUND

"They are just like a hunter who has caught a great prize. But internal trouble will give them more than one headache."

El Diario, La Paz.

WAITING FOR THE VERDICT (IF ANY).

The Bulletin, Sydney.

FORTUNE TELLING

EUROPE: "This game of solitaire won't come out. I managed to rid myself of two kings, but a third one turned up (in Greece) . . . without counting the interference of aces from across the ocean!"

Krokodil, Moscow.

NECESSARY SCREENING

"Our friend is right in acting that way, eliminating enemies, serving foreigners." (Braden is labeled: 'One who will fall.')

La Epoca, Buenos Aires.

WORLD

The waning Moscow Conference and Wallace's pronouncements during his European tour shared top billing in world radio comment of the month. The U.S.S.R. listed its reparations bill for the special benefit of Americans. The French sought to separate the chaff of politics from the wheat of industry in the rebirth of Germany as they called for "durable guarantee." The leitmotiv on Wallace, more than a little colored by na-

BELGIUM

Leopoldville, in French to Belgians: "The problem of security is summed up in a few words: a democratic Germany controlled by the Big Powers. The Moscow talks are dragging but laborious discussion is preferable to immediate agreement reached on a basis of speculation. Secretary Marshall, for instance, proposed a Four Power Pact and we are far from being opposed to the principle of this pact. But such an agreement should constitute the finishing touch to the work of the Big Four, not precede it. M. Bidault and Mr. Molotov were right in showing some reserve and their attitude corresponds to the security requirements of Belgium."

UNITED STATES

American Forces Network, in English to American troops in Germany: "General Lucius Clay told a press conference at Stuttgart that a political unification of the United States and British zones may not be as dangerous as was once believed. He stressed, however, that he did not plan to recommend such a political unification until after the Moscow Conference. He did say that the Moscow discussion had made for favorable development along the lines of German unity. The British and Americans evidently saw eye to eye on the question. This political unity, which would supplement the present economic amalgamation of the two zones, had previously been discouraged by both General Clay and his predecessor, General Joseph McNarney. Both had publicly stated that the political merger of only two zones might jeopardize the future amalgamation of the four zones."

JAPAN

Tokyo, in English: "Six of the nation's ten richest men are still represented by two major Zaibatsu families —the Mitsuis and Iwasakis, according to figures released by the Tokyo Finance Bureau on the basis of the recent registration of individual properties. They are Baron Takakimi Mitsui, reporting properties valued at 62 million yen; Kyuya Iwasaki, 48 million yen; Koyata Iwasaki, 41 million yen; Genzo Hattori, 38 million yen; Marquis Moritatsu Hosokawa, 35 million yen; Jyuko Nakano, 32 million yen; Riken Mayeda, 30 million yen; Takanaru Mitsui, 30 million yen; Takanaga Mitsui, 30 million yen, and Takateru Mitsui, 27 million yen. The Mitsuis thus reported properties valued at 149 million yen."

FRANCE

Paris, in French to the Middle East: "The French delegation to the Moscow Conference (has defended) with determination its suggestion of a permanent control over the Ruhr by means of the internationalization of this industrial area without making it contingent on a treaty lasting for 40 years, as in the case of the Soviet proposal, which might be denounced long before its expiration. The guarantees which France is requesting as regards the Ruhr are one part of a wider set of measures of which the Soviet or United States drafts are another part. These security measures ought not to be interdependent, for, supposing that one of them were to disappear, the entire construction would collapse. This is why one plays into the hands of Germany when limiting the duration of control over the Ruhr to the duration of a treaty. We can more than reaffirm our point of view: if the 40-year Four Power Treaty constitutes a guarantee of European security, the administration and control of the Ruhr constitutes another. These two guarantees are complimentary but should not be made dependent one on the other."

U. S. S. R.

Moscow, in English to North America: "All of us are aware of the terrific damage wrought by the Germans in the Soviet Union. The consequences of Nazi invasion are too painful and too profound . . . Is it surprising then that we insist that at least a small part of the damage done by the Germans be covered by reparations? Is it surprising that we expect the Americans, the British and the French to understand our point of view and to agree with us on this score? The Germans burned down and demolished more than six million buildings in the U.S.S.R. What does this mean in American terms? An American statistical survey shows that in 1940 there were a little over two million dwellings in the six New England states. The Germans left about 25 million persons without shelter in the Soviet Union. In order to comprehend this figure, one must remember that this is the population of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania . . . The Hitlerites destroyed nearly 32,000 industrial enterprises. That is equal to about one-fifth of the total manufacturing establishments in the United States . . . The United States was fortunate enough not to have known the horrors of German occupation, but these figures ought to help some people get an idea of the bitter experience of the Soviet Union."

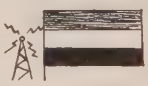
CHINA

Chungking, in English to North America: "Addressing the American Association of University Women in Peiping, Dr. Hu Shih, president of the National University at Peiping and former Ambassador to the United States, said that complete rehabilitation of China's educational standards to bring them back to par with that prevailing before the war may be achieved in five years. Improvements over pre-war standards could be expected within ten years. Dr. Hu expressed considerable optimism concerning the future of education in China. Whether education continues its march toward progress depends entirely on our determination. Quoting Dr. Chu Chia-hua, Minister of Education, the noted Chinese scholar and educator observed that even during the war the number of students enrolled in secondary and higher educational institutions doubled."

TURKEY

Ankara, in English, inaugurating its new North American service: "News that the United States Senate is taking speedy action on the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey is good news for which the ground has been paved by the unanimous approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. No one here disagrees with the view that delayed action might prove even more ineffectual than no action at all. It is only natural that important decisions affecting vital political situations should meet with all kinds of opposition. We have of course to discount criticism such as that voiced by Henry Wallace whose sympathies for notoriously undemocratic regimes in Eastern Europe make his observations inconsistent and suspect . . . So long as severe external pressure exerted on us continues, Turkey feels herself obliged to maintain large armed forces and this is the main cause of the strain on our economy."

PALESTINE



Jaffa, in Arabic to the Near East: "Henry Wallace is devoted to a mission he is trying faithfully to carry to the world. This mission consists in an attempt to prove that the present international policy will lead the world to an inevitable chasm between the western countries and the Soviet Union, and that this will lead in the long run to a third world war. . . . Wallace's faith in his own analysis of the present situation is so great that he accuses any one who thinks otherwise of trying to set the fires of war ablaze. This surely is wrong as no one wants war. Wallace is not the only one who loves peace. He has the privilege of being able to criticize without being personally responsible for the administration and ruling of matters and facing the difficult problems entailed . . . However, Wallace's speeches will find a large audience throughout the world and most of these listeners are those who were discouraged by difficulties characterizing this year, as well as those who feel the necessity for fundamental changes in the present international policy so that the world may avoid falling into the hell of a new war."

RADIO

tional origin, was that since he didn't have to face responsibilities of grave decisions his utterances were "suspect." Other highlights on the air-waves included Jan Masaryk's avowals of "anxious optimism" as to whether the world knows it must avoid war for survival; and a report that Chinese educational rehabilitation will reach pre-war par in five years, and surpass it in ten.

GREECE

Radio Athens, in Greek to home audiences: "According to information obtained from captured documents, bandit forces in Central Macedonia are quite insignificant. There only appear to be 270 guerrillas in the Kroussia Mountains, although Communist propaganda claims that they are 800 to 1,500 strong. Of the 140 guerrillas believed to be in the Chalkidlike district, 40 do not even have firearms. The 150 bandits surviving on Dardikia Mountain are in a pitiful condition. The total guerrilla strength in Central Macedonia is estimated at not more than 1,500 men. Captured documents bearing grandiloquent headings, such as 'General Headquarters,' are merely designed to create the impression of greater strength and better organization." (*Note: While the home service thus presents a more moderate picture of the situation, short-wave transmissions designed for foreign consumption magnify the strength of the Greek guerrillas.*)

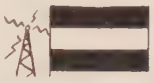
UNITED KINGDOM

London, British Broadcasting Corporation Japanese-language transmission to Japan via Singapore: "Heated discussions of a magnitude unprecedented in the history of the country are at present taking place throughout Great Britain . . . Britain up to the present has been regarded as a wealthy empire with sufficient raw materials of all kinds. When World War II broke out, England mobilized her manpower and her material resources. Enduring almost insurmountable hardships, the British people finally emerged victorious. As a result of the war, the position of Britain has changed radically and the country has become impoverished. However, the majority of the British people cannot comprehend the idea that the great British Empire has crumbled. Realization of the present unfavorable situation has come about not by listening to lectures or by reading lengthy statistics, but through actual bitter experience . . . Under such unfortunate circumstances which have affected rich and poor alike, the government's economic plan is not only a topic of discussion for politicians and economists. Debates on the nation's economic future have spread to homes, factories, farms and offices."

CUBA

Havana, in Spanish to Cuba: "General Genovevo Pérez Damera, on his recent return from the United States, made categorical statements. He said that the Communist Party would not be able to call a general strike in Cuba because the Army, in agreement with the Government of the United States, would promptly crush any such attempt. And he added that revolutionary movements within or without would be halted by the Cuban Army, which is well equipped for this task. (At this point, the announcer added:) Say, General, you better take a sedative to calm your nerves. Take it easy, General! We are not to be contaminated with the psychosis of the present moment, General!"

SPAIN



Referring to Soviet-American tension, Radio Madrid, on its Home Service, relays the views of commentator José Ramón Alonzo: "Henry Wallace's campaign of Soviet propaganda in Europe has been a complete failure in the eyes of American public opinion and Harold Stassen's efforts to obtain the lifting of Russian censorship was a similar failure. Aware as we are of the rather anti-Soviet attitude of President Truman, and of the Republican candidate's current disappointment in Moscow, we may safely say that whoever wins the 1948 election, relations between the United States and Soviet Russia will not appreciably improve. Besides, . . . Stalin does not want to yield, and Uncle Sam is adamant, too. In the great political and diplomatic duel the U.S.S.R. is gradually losing ground, while the United States is gaining from day to day. American prestige in Europe has considerably increased since President Truman announced his intention to come to the aid of Turkey and Greece, the two Mediterranean countries most immediately threatened by Soviet Imperialism."

CHILE

Santiago de Chile, in Spanish to Argentina: "According to reports, Señor Don Guillermo del Pedregal, Vice Minister of Finance, was told when heading an economic mission to the United States that as long as the Communist Party was represented in Chile's public administration, he would encounter little good will for his requests for financial assistance to Chile. The National State Railways Corporation, desirous of buying rolling stock in the United States to replace antiquated equipment, was advised in New York that little interest would be shown in any orders placed by the Chilean State Railways as long as representatives of the Communist Party sat in the Chilean Cabinet."

Santiago de Chile, in Spanish to Chile: "At 1:45 P.M. (on April 16), the Communist Ministers, at the request of the President of the Republic, presented their resignations."

Santiago de Chile, in Spanish to Chile: (speech of President Gabriel González Videla) "I hope that the Cabinet change today will cause no upset in the foreign policy of the Government. I am encouraged in this hope by the faith in the patriotism of men who have good moral disposition."

ARGENTINA

Buenos Aires, in Spanish to Argentina: "An interesting verdict was handed down by the Court of Appeals, revoking a decision of a lower court which had permitted a birth certificate to be issued to a baby girl in the name of Ingrid Elizabeth. The Court of Appeals ruled that the birth certificate could only be issued under the name of Isabel, which is the translation in Spanish of Elizabeth. With regard to the first name, Ingrid, the Court of Appeals decreed that a foreigner is under the obligation of giving Argentine names to his Argentine born children, or at least names in common usage in this country, or connected with Argentine history."

TUNISIA

Tunis, in Arabic to North Africa: "We believe that British policy vis-a-vis the Arabic world springs from traditional British characteristics. The method they often use is the exploitation of their opponents' better nature, the attraction of the weak and their use on behalf of the British cause. We see, for example, that Britain creates antagonism between citizens of one country. India is still the stage for massacres of Moslems and Hindus. Egypt is still a place where a minority rules the country and this at a time when the country's future is being determined for generations. Iraq is still rich ground for the circle of Nuri es-Said, who is Britain's agent and tool."

ITALY

Rome, in Italian to Italy, transmitting an address by Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi from Viminale Palace: "Hundreds of unknown citizens write to me daily to make suggestions, to complain, or encourage. My secretaries reply to some of them, and I now want to reply collectively to the remainder. People wonder whether that segment of the press is correct which says that the Government squandered money and led the country to bankruptcy because of willful ignorance, or simply because it is a coalition government. I reply: the present financial crisis is not the outcome of a day, or a month, or a year . . . The truth is that when after my return from the United States, aware of the serious financial and international responsibilities, I asked for the cooperation of all men of all parties for the common good, some of today's bitterest critics preferred to shirk responsibilities. I do not know whether by so doing they followed the right electoral tactics, but I do know that, by accepting the burden, we carried out a hard but noble duty toward the Italian people."

The World Bookshelf

WHO IS OBJECTIVE?

AT THE cocktail party the Professor was deploring with a sort of cold academic fury the lack of objectivity to be found, so he said, in most recent books about international affairs. He contended, a little too vehemently, I thought, that this admirable quality was missing from nearly every book about Russia, Greece and Palestine, and that this fault extended into the less topical field of history in general.

Later that evening I was leafing through a new book by a bright young journalist, a brief, snappy "layman's history" of the American people, and in the introduction I found these words:

"From what I have said you may gather that this book is not 'objective.' There may be books that are objective, but I have never read one (*The Statistical Abstract of the United States* is said to be objective, but have you read it?)"

William Harlan Hale, who wrote those words, read (according to his own notes and bibliography) a great many books that over the years have been considered objective by scholars and laymen alike. Pondering his plea in behalf of nonobjectivity, I looked in the Concise Oxford Dictionary to see just what was the exact meaning of this word that was bothering both the Professor and Mr. Hale.

Here I found that a book was objective if it dealt "with outward things and not with thoughts or feeling, exhibiting actual facts uncolored by the exhibitor's feelings or opinions."

In the face of that definition I felt I would have to go along with Mr. Hale, yet not without certain misgivings. A book wholly objective by its very nature is bound to be dull. A book completely divorced from feelings or opinions would have to be as somnolent as a Statistical Abstract. I began to think that what the Professor was arguing for was not so much *objectivity* as *honesty*.

A careful regard for the "actual facts" (the modifying *actual* seems to show that even the Oxford recognizes that there are facts *and* facts) wherever they are obtainable is of course a mandatory obligation for all writers. These may be found in the handbooks and yearbooks, the abstracts and documents that are the basis for all opinion. No historian and no special pleader can work without them. But history is more than dates: it is also compounded of feelings and opinions.

More important than that a book be objective is that we know who and what the book's author is. If he makes it clear, as Mr. Hale does, that he is writing about American history from the people's point of view, or about Russia, Greece or Palestine from this or that starting point, and if his qualifications for writing at all are sound, then we can either accept or reject his book in good faith.

Two of the most talked-about books of the year are James Burnham's *Struggle for the World* and D. C. Somervell's one-volume abridgement of Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History*.

Burnham Is Not Objective

BURNHAM'S book, I think, was the kind that aroused the Professor's ire. This violent, bombastic book has had about every adjective hurled at it —except "objective." It is a compound of the author's totalitarian opinions and imperialistic feelings and the very violence of their presentation should put even the most unwary reader on guard.

If Mr. Burnham had approached his subject—which essentially is that the United States should lead a world-wide crusade against Communism—more "objectively," with a higher regard for the "actual facts," with less passion and prejudice, such value as his book may contain would have been of far greater effect. So dramatic are the facts upon which any book dealing with this subject must be built that, if approached with all the care at a scholar's command, it could not be dull.

Struggle for Power is an excellent example of the need for more objectivity in books treating of international affairs. It discusses events and situations affecting all the people of the world. To some it is as dangerous as *Mein Kampf;* to others as stimulating as a bugle call. Mr. Burnham is playing with dangerous matter. He who dares do this owes it to his readers to stick to the "actual facts," to be as objective as possible.

Arnold Toynbee was recently called our most daring historian. The sweep of his writing is tremendous. He has a theory of history that is his own. He does not deal with the history of a nation, or a continent, but with whole civilizations. He says that you cannot understand history if you fail to study it through the rise and fall of these civilizations, which he identifies.

In studying these civilizations is Toynbee objective? Can any historian be objective? That is a most difficult question, and perhaps not very fruitful.

Toynbee's Vast Perspective

TOYNBEE is one of the most erudite men of our time. The scope of his scholarship is stupendous. "And still he looked and still the wonder grew, that one small head could carry all he knew." He has one of the most inquiring minds of our age. He has the courage to rewrite the story of mankind. He has, for example, the courage to take Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and relegate that overwhelming account to a minor place in the history of the world.

To do this he has had to invent new phrases, set up new charts, rearrange old conceptions of time and space. Every page of his spacious work is colored by his feelings and opinions. But they are dredged out of such an imposing accumulation of wit and wisdom, of statistics, of poetry, of folklore, of all the world's knowledge, that

few would have the fortitude to quarrel with him. The specialists may find fault with some of his facts, but the minor errors, apparent only to the most learned in some narrow field, disappear in the broad perspective of his vision.

Toynbee's studies of civilizations do not make him hopeful for our own. Possibly he would agree with Burnham, but in the process of his imagination and scholarship he abjures the fanaticism of the propagandist that colors Burnham's pages. In this way, he is an objective writer, although he does not live up to the Oxford definition of that unhappy word.

Mr. Hale is wrong in saying that you cannot read an objective book; the Professor was wrong in saying that all books must be objective. In this, as in most things, there is a happy medium. Mr. Hale, in writing a history of the American people and failing to mention 13 of the 33 presidents (as he admits) has a right to his own bias. So has Mr. Burnham. And Toynbee of course has earned his reputation the hard way. Hale's book stands firm because he admits his lack of objectivity. Burnham's is dangerous because he lets you think he is dealing more honestly with "actual facts" than he is. Toynbee's scholarship precludes most other considerations.

KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER.

BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AMERICANS IN PERSIA, A Clinic for the New Internationalism, by Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C. The Brookings Institution. $3.00.

Few Americans have such thoroughgoing first-hand knowledge of Persia as Dr. Millspaugh, who as head of the Second American Financial Mission to Persia in 1922-27 and the Third Mission in 1942-44 did his utmost to keep the Persian Government solvent—in the latter case only to be forced to resign for lack of support. Hence he must be listened to with respect when he insists that the Persian governing classes "will take none of the radical actions that are necessary for the salvation and progress of their country," and recommends a three-power commission (the U.S., U.S.S.R. and Britain) with authority to supervise reform and reconstruction in this "festering" sore spot of our postwar world. For most readers, however, the chief interest of this volume will lie not in the conclusions drawn but in the play-by-play account of the friction engendered by American technicians trying to do a job in an Oriental land harassed by British, Russian and even U.S. influence.

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY, edited by Mordecai Ezekiel. New York, Harper & Bros. $5.50.

Twenty experts, drawn largely from the economic and agricultural departments of various governments, contribute to this volume chapters dealing with postwar conditions, reconstruction and the best methods to develop efficiently industry and agriculture in selected countries, with due consideration for the special problems of each region under discussion. The chief emphasis is placed on Europe, with chapters on some of the Asiatic countries and the Americas.

The editor stresses that the prosperity achieved will depend upon the success of such agencies of the United Nations as the new Monetary Fund and International Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization; and "successful agreement on, and operation of measures to reduce trade barriers, establish greater freedom of trade and control cartels."

PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN A CONTROLLED ECONOMY, Germany, 1933-1939, by Samuel Lurie. New York, Columbia University Press. $3.00.

The mushrooming of "controlled" economies in the postwar world—with the U.S. remaining the one big island of free enterprise—has aroused a growing interest in the subject of economic controls and their effect upon both private investment and the well-being of nations. Dr. Lurie makes an important contribution to the study of this crucial problem. Based on original sources, his authoritative work describes the economic devices and financial mechanism used by the prewar Third Reich to gear industrial production to the Nazi program. It shows that the application of Nazi controls (among them the ingeniously contrived method of corporate "self-financing"), far from shackling private interests, "was frequently associated with substantial benefits to the private industries."

The main lesson of the book: economic controls *per se* are neither a "good" nor a "bad" thing. Some of the Nazi controls could well be used to enhance the people's welfare. Everything depends on the underlying philosophy and interests of those in command.

YOU AND THE UNITED NATIONS, written and illustrated by Lois Fisher. Chicago, Childrens Press, Inc. $ .60.

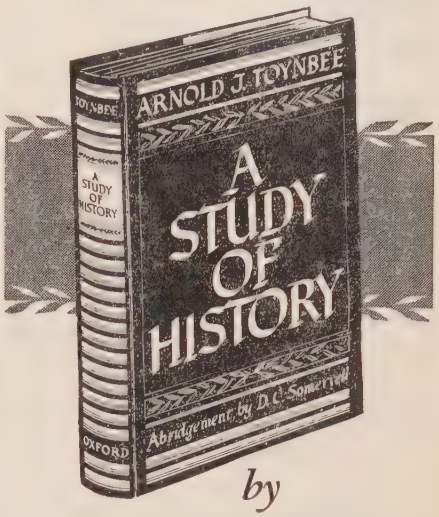
With an economy and simplicity of text and a profusion of amusing and instructive illustrations Lois Fisher succeeds admirably in making the United Nations understood by children from "ages 10 and up." "And up" is used advisedly, for there is no condescending or talking down in this little book.

EUROPE

FINAL JUDGMENT, by Victor H. Bernstein. New York, Boni & Gaer. $3.50.

A seasoned reporter, well-acquainted with his subject, Mr. Bernstein has written an extremely penetrating analysis of the facts behind the scene in the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals. This book is a terrible indictment of a whole system—social, political, economic and moral—which almost destroyed the world. The author discloses information which came to light only during

"If readers of this review have time for only one book during this year—and the next and the next—Somervell's abridgement of Toynbee's A STUDY OF HISTORY should be that book." — Edward D. Myers, *The Nation.*



by

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

A STUDY OF HISTORY stands without parallel in modern scholarship. Yet to many thousands it has been all but inaccessible. Now in D. C. Somervell's brilliant one-volume abridgement, they will be privileged to discover one of the world's most important books.

"Toynbee's A STUDY OF HISTORY . . . ranks without question as one of the greatest intellectual achievements of our century."
—Clifton Fadiman

"Mr. Somervell's abridgement in one volume comes at just the right time . . . One wishes that other seminal writers—and most notably Marx—had been as well served as Mr. Toynbee has been served by Mr. Somervell."
—Crane Brinton, *N. Y. Times Book Review*

"D. C. Somervell has compressed the 3,488 pages of the original six volumes into a space which the general reader can grasp with ease. He has performed wonders in maintaining the closely-argued texture of Professor Toynbee's thesis.
—Morley Cassidy, *Philadelphia Bulletin*

$5.00 at all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue New York 11

HARPER BOOKS

Probing International Problems

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY

Through Industrial and Agricultural Development and Expansion

Edited by MORDECAI EZEKIEL, *Economist, Food and Agricultural Organization of U. N.*

The renewed realization by international-minded citizens that world peace and world prosperity are interdependent will create an urgent demand for this authoritative and comprehensive digest of the economic conditions and opportunities for economic expansion in every continent today. ". . . the views of twenty experienced investigators, economists, authors who are familiar with the industrial and agricultural fields of the countries about which they write. Splendid survey and source book of international trade conditions."—*Alfred B. Lindsay,* in LIBRARY JOURNAL. $5.50

REFUGEES IN AMERICA

Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe

By MAURICE R. DAVIE, *Chairman, Department of Sociology, Yale University*

Here is the first thorough and comprehensive study of the thousands of refugees who have recently streamed into the current of our national life. A complete record of their status, occupations, problems of adjustment, their important contribution to American life. ". . . orderly, readable and authentic . . . a book without which nobody can understand the situation . . . needed by every socially and morally responsible American." —*Dorothy Canfield Fisher.* $4.50

PERSISTENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Edited by GEORGE B. DEHUSZAR, *Author of "Practical Applications of Democracy," etc.*

Before we can achieve international peace and stability, we must solve the all-important *continuing* problems which stand in the way of peaceful relations among nations. Searching behind the forces of power politics, this book brings the problems of enduring peace into a new focus. The following subjects are treated by an array of authorities as persistent issues regarding which public sentiment must continue to mobilize: Relief and Rehabilitation, Displaced Persons, Health, Food and Agriculture, Transportation, Industry and Trade, Money and Finance, Labor, Politics, and Education. $3.00

At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROS., 49 E. 33rd St., N.Y. 16

the trials, and probes the infections of society with an objectivity which is truly admirable.

STEPPENWOLF by Hermann Hesse. New York, Henry Holt. $2.75.

A translation of this novel by the German-born 1946 Nobel Prize winner, who became a Swiss citizen in 1912, was first published in the United States in 1929. Long out of print, it has now been reissued. The hero, Harry Haller, calls himself Steppenwolf—Wolf of the Steppes—and the theme carries out the struggle betwen the man and "wolf" sides of his personality. It is in brief the eternal conflict between flesh and spirit, set in the pessimistic and neurotic period between the two world wars. All the whipped-up artificial frenzy of a despondent and hopeless generation, indeed the world sickness itself, is symbolized in one individual. STEPPENWOLF opens up a brooding, unhappy perspective, unfortunately about as true for today as for two decades ago.

OF TRUE EXPERIENCE by Sir Gerald Campbell. New York, Dodd, Mead & Company. $3.50.

Sir Gerald Campbell has written a short autobiography which has all the charm characteristic of the writer himself. His reminiscences as a career man of the British Foreign Office might easily serve as a spur to any young Britisher contemplating life in his country's service. However, one does get the feeling that there might have been more solid fare for the serious reader. The author is a super-salesman for Great Britain, as was evidenced by his activity during the war and by the tone of this book, which is obviously a bid for closer Anglo-American ties.

THE BRIGHT PASSAGE by Maurice Hindus. New York, Doubleday & Co. $3.00.

No writer interprets the European Slav with more understanding and warmth than does Maurice Hindus. In his new book on Czechoslovakia, he gives an optimistic picture of the people and the country since their liberation from the Nazis. He shows the Czechs as a stout-hearted peasant folk, Catholics and Communists working together for the future of their land. Nationalization is proceeding, according to Hindus, but in line with a Prague rather than Moscow pattern. The Czechs are following their own tradition —revolution through evolution. The progress through cooperation optimistically reported by Hindus is an encouraging contrast to the many iron-curtain tales that have drifted out of the late Neville Chamberlain's "little-known country."

UNITED STATES

ALASKA BECKONS by Marius Barbeau. Illustrated by Arthur Price. Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, Ltd. $4.50.

Through the interpretation of Indian legends, ceremonies and customs, Marius Barbeau offers a fresh approach to the primeval roots of the Alaskan Indians. Dr. Barbeau, outstanding Canadian folklorist and anthropologist, is gifted with rare insight into the Indian mind and spirit. The book is built around the Asiatic origin theory of the American Indian, which has already been accepted by most scientists through archeological discoveries. Dr. Barbeau adds to the picture the cultural affinities not only with Siberian tribes, but with China itself. The chapters on Buddhist dirges and totems are particularly interesting. The book is richly decorated with black and white illustrations in keeping with the designs used by the Alaskan Indians. To follow all the early migrations one does, however, miss a good practical map.

REFUGEES IN AMERICA by Maurice R. Davie. New York, Harper & Bros. $4.50.

This comprehensive and objective survey by the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe was sponsored by five national refugees services, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, with the cooperation of many immigrant, social and civic agencies. Not only are the problems of the refugees analyzed, but interesting case histories vividly present the hopes and experiences of the new arrivals. Most of them have found the generosity, friendliness and helpfulness of Americans outstanding. They praise the freedom and security, the abundance and educational opportunities of America. Among their greatest difficulties are emotional, occupational and social readjustment—complete integration into the American community. Many hostile rumors which have been spread about the refugees have been run down and corrected by the investigators. This is one of those occasional reports that is not formidable to tackle; eminently readable, it has been put together by specialists compassionately devoted to human problems and their solution.

THE WALLACES OF IOWA by Russell Lord. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.00.

A "Life-in-America" prize book, THE WALLACES OF IOWA is more than just the history of three generations of Iowa editors and statesmen; it is a picture of the middle West, and in a sense of America, over the past century. Probably most interesting of the three Wallaces around whom the book is woven is the large, bright figure of "Uncle Henry," the present Wallace's grandfather. His trips around the country, his crusading for the farmer, his blustering speech and writing are exceedingly dramatic, and portray his life and times more vividly than would any cut and dried history. His son, "Honest Harry" Wallace, is a quieter character, and his grandson Henry Agard is more like the old man. The Wallaces, one and all, were and are sincerely devoted to the problems of the farmer. In writing this history of the Wallaces, Mr. Lord has also written much of the history of America in readable and forceful language.

F.D.R. COLUMNIST, edited by Donald S. Carmichael. Chicago, Pellegrini & Cudahy. $3.00.

This little volume will be a joy to any collector of Rooseveltiana. It covers columns written by the late president in 1925 for the Macon (Georgia) *Telegraph* and in 1928 for the Beacon (New York) *Standard*, which already show indications of the delightful style which was to charm so many millions

in his "fireside chats." Traceable, too, are the ideas which permeated his philosophy as president, his interest in the farmer, in fair play for civil-service workers, in development of natural resources and in the structure of the Federal Government. The book is rounded out by an introduction by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and some delightful marginalia by the editor.

The Big Yankee, The Life of Carlson of the Raiders, by Michael Blankfort. Boston, Little Brown and Co. $4.00.

This is a true story, the characteristically American story of Evans Carlson, the New England minister's son who ran away from home in his teens, joined the army and spent most of his life in it, often feeling himself a failure yet always searching for some cause to which he could give himself whole-heartedly—until at last, in China's Border Region, he found it. Carlson's achievements as the dynamic leader of the U. S. Raider Battalion which lived and fought by the idealistic principle of *Gung Ho* ("Work Together") made history during the war. How he came by that gripping faith and how it gave him power to influence men, even the man in the White House, is a story as full of interest as his venturesome life itself. Mr. Blankfort, who first learned to know Carlson in the Marines, has written an honest and absorbing narrative, rich in concrete detail, although it might perhaps have gained in effectiveness by a little more of the restraint of Carlson's native New England.

The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law by Milton R. Konvitz. Cornell University Press. $3.00.

In a comprehensive study, Professor Konvitz of Cornell has covered the "status of the alien and the American citizen of Asiatic ancestry under American constitutional law." He analyzes and interprets the decisions and opinions of the U. S. Supreme Court on these two groups and reviews their past and present legal status. Among the subjects considered are the rights to exclude and expel aliens, the rights of aliens to become and remain citizens, to own land and to work. A final chapter eloquently exposes the flaws and dangers in the treatment of Americans of Japanese ancestry in World War II. Throughout, one is impressed with the dissenting opinions of the more liberal members of the U. S. Supreme Court, symbolizing a sense of justice that is alive if not always completely awake. This book is not only a useful shortcut for the specialist, but an eye opener for the inquiring general reader.

U.S.S.R.

The Story of the Ukraine by Clarence A. Manning. New York, Philosophical Library. $3.75.

Now that for the first time in centuries the Ukraine has been united under one government and the Ukrainian S.S.R. has attained recognition as one of the United Nations, the long and bitter struggle of the Ukrainian people to regain the freedom they enjoyed long ago under the medieval Principality of Kiev falls into new perspective. Professor Manning has told the story brilliantly and with scholarly care and restraint, although he makes no attempt to hide his strong distaste for the Soviet regime. It is a complex story, from the days of the free-riding Kazaks and Mazepa's revolt against the Czars on down to recent times when slices of the divided Ukrainian land were only too frequently transferred from one European nation to another. More than once the dream of a free, united Ukraine seemed on the point of realization, notably in 1918. Professor Manning's conclusion is that "the Ukrainian spirit is not yet free but it has proved itself imperishable in the past and it will continue to remain so in the future."

ASIA

Behind the Silken Curtain by Bartley C. Crum. New York, Simon & Shuster. $3.00.

Liberal Republican, San Francisco corporation lawyer and close friend of the late Wendell Willkie, Bartley Crum was appointed one of the six American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. With candor and often with indignation he records his observations and reactions on the 120-day tour of investigation. At the outset he discovers the "duplicity" of the U. S. State Department, which, he alleges, by its secret dispatches to the Arabs, cancelled the open pledges made to the Jews by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Throughout Mr. Crum reveals the sharp difference in policy and opinion between the American and British members of the committee.

Finally at Lausanne they hammered out their differences until the unanimous decision was reached that 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine should be issued immediately and other long-term recommendations were drawn up. Everyone now knows how and to some extent why Bevin and Attlee discarded this unanimous report. If not, Mr. Crum leaves little to the imagination and, in a spirited conclusion, sets forth his own program of American policy toward Palestine.

Palestine Mission, A Personal Record, by Richard Crossman. New York, Harper & Bros. $2.75.

It is an exhilarating exercise to follow, one after the other, two books with such diverging approaches to the same barrage of facts and propaganda as *Behind the Silken Curtain* and Palestine Mission. Richard Crossman, Labor Party M.P., was a British member of the Palestine Committee as Bartley Crum was on the American side. Crossman is colder, more detached and, like many of the British, instinctively pro-Arab. From the beginning Crum reveals more warmth and sympathy for the Jewish plight. Both are sincere in trying to reach a solution that would be tolerable if not satisfactory to the Arabs and Jews. But Crossman frankly admits his emotional bias. "Somehow we like the Arabs even though they fight us, and we dislike the Jews even if our interests run together." Again, "If I were a mountain Arab, I would want to shoot any Jew who came into Nablus." In visiting a detention camp he confessed, "My anti-Semitic virus made me expect them to squeal. Actually they were very dignified." And much more in the same vein is scattered through his "Jerusalem Diary."

But in the end he reached practically the same conclusion as Crum that "Zionism, whether we liked it or not, was a bare necessity for the existence of eastern European Jewry" and Jewish nationalism now existed and had to be accepted as a political force. Both Crum and Crossman stood out for a more radical, long-term solution than the others. And in their two stories power politics in the Middle East has the odor of a cesspool.

The first complete official report of the

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

Here is the first official record of the Atomic Energy Commission at work. It is the essence of the control scheme from the mines to the manufacturing as it was given to the United Nations Security Council. This *Report* includes the records of closed committee meetings and proposed safeguards are published here for the first time.

Pages: 143 **$1.00**

International Documents Service

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

2960 Broadway New York 27, N.Y.

Autobiography of a Chinese Woman by Buwei Yang Chao. Put into English by her husband Yuenren Chao. New York, John Day. An Asia Press Book. $3.75.

Buwei Yang Chao was born in Nanking in 1889 in a 128-room mansion housing a family of 34 with 27 servants. In her 57 years she has lived through China's great modern changes from the days of the Empress Dowager and the 1911 revolution. She was herself a young revolutionist then. Mrs. Chao, who broke an engagement made before she was born, studied medicine in Japan, ran her own hospital in Peiping, met her future husband without go-betweens, arranged an ultra-modern marriage that would satisfy few American brides and has lived 13 years in the United States, is hardly a "typical" Chinese woman. With her driving power, intelligence and forthrightness she would be outstanding anywhere. She writes with humor and frankness of all the homely details of family and friendships and living. That she does not enlarge on China's politics, wars

CAMP PAUL REVERE

"More Than A Camp . . . A Lifetime Inspiration!"

OPPORTUNITY FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF UNITED NATIONS MEMBERS TO VISIT FAMOUS AMERICAN HISTORICAL LANDMARKS!

On Beautiful 150 Acre Estate

Historic Sudbury, Mass., 17 Miles From Boston

Cultural program includes all camp sports, nature lore, arts and crafts, farm fun, dramatics, plus visits to historic Concord and Boston. Attractive facilities, medical, nurse, counselors, nutritious food. RADIO & STAGE GUEST STARS! A Vacation they'll cherish. Joyful, healthful, educational!

Limited, selected enrollment. Reasonable Rates.

For Boys-Girls, Ages 5 to 12. OPENS JUNE 23rd.

Send for brochure U.N.

CAMP PAUL REVERE, VILLA ALMAR ESTATE, SUDBURY, MASS.

IN MEXICO CITY

It's the Hotel Geneve

European plan—Native Charm

N. Y. and Eastern Representative

DOROTHY K. DALRYMPLE

161 W. 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

9 - 5 — TR 7-2519

Or Your Travel Agent

VISUAL MATERIALS

for study of

South and Central America

Study Portfolios in full color, Dolls, Flags, Books in Spanish.

(Catalog upon request)

LATIN AMERICAN VILLAGE

P. O. Box 231,

El Monte California.

and many serious problems is an asset. Many others have done that. Mrs. Chao gives us an honest autobiography which in its own way brings the more prosperous China of the past fifty years intimately close. This delightful book is indeed an ambassador to the West.

TIDES FROM THE WEST, A Chinese Autobiography, by Chiang Monlin. New Haven, Yale University Press. $3.50.

Dr. Chiang Monlin, distinguished Chinese educator long associated with National Peking University, first as professor of education and then as chancellor, has written an urbane autobiography which "within the limits of discretion" takes the reader with him through crucial scenes of many if not all the important events of the past fifty years in China. Dr. Chiang, who can trace his ancestry back to the 12th century B.C., grew up in a traditional Chinese village. But the tides from the West were already flowing in, and when the engineless paddle-wheel boat which his well-to-do and ingenious father had made in imitation of a Western steamboat failed to run, any doubt of the value of Western education disappeared. Nevertheless Dr. Chiang has remained thoroughly Chinese at heart, and the general reader desirous of entering into the life of 20th-century educated China will find this a rewarding book.

MALAYA, Outline of a Colony, by Victor Purcell. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons. $2.00.

Victor Purcell, now a consultant in the economics affairs division of the UN Secretariat, was for twenty years a British official in Malaya. Out of his varied experiences he has contributed a crisp and well-balanced introduction to Malaya which, until Singapore fell, was more familiar to the West in stories of adventure and *opera bouffe* than in factual background. He writes of the country—its flora and fauna; of its peoples—aborigines, Malays, Chinese, Indians, Europeans; of its early history and the coming of the East India Company—and Raffles. Dr. Purcell goes into an elaborate defense of the British in the charges made against them in Malaya during the Japanese invasion and, in his final chapter, "The Balance Sheet," he seeks to prove how enlightened and beneficent British rule has been to Malaya.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, MacMillan. $4.00.

Professor Latourette of Yale has produced many outstanding books on the Far East. His latest contribution offers the layman a concise, well-rounded introduction to the background and evolution of Japan. Based on a much earlier and long standard work, *The Development of Japan*, this book has been completely rewritten and carried through the war and the American occupation up to February, 1946. The complicated growth of modern Japan and its relations with China and the rest of the world are admirably presented. A selected bibliography for the general reader, a chronology, a prewar chart of the gigantic Mitsui interests and many maps increase the interest and value of the book.

LATIN AMERICA

TIERRA DE OCEANO (The Sea Country) by Benjamín Subercaseaux. Santiago, Chile, Ercilla. $6.25.

Never, says Subercaseaux, has there been a more tragic struggle between the inclination of a people and their true destiny. Though the destiny of Chile, with her long coastline on the Pacific, inevitably depends on the sea, on the whole her men have no love for the sea. Therefore, neither in the distant past, in colonial times, nor in the present, have her governments cared to face the issue. Yet it must be faced, for Chile must develop her maritime power. "The Pacific will be the world's most important strategic and commercial area under the influence of the United States, Russia, and an industrialized China."

ARQUITECTURA PERUANA (Peruvian Architecture) by Hector Velarde. Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica. $2.75.

Illustrated with photographs by the President of the Architectural Society of Peru, this is the story of Peruvian architecture from pre-colonial days to the present. The worship of nature, the cult to the Sun, Christianity, all had a hand in creating an original architectural style. Out of Indian collectivism and Hispanic individualism came Peruvian architecture. "The simple, immense stone and adobe melodies which one can still see in the Paramonga and Sacsuahaman fortresses and the complex symphonies of Spanish art established the forms and rhythms of a magnificent and original architecture."

WHERE THE SABIA SINGS by Henriqueta Chamberlain. New York, Macmillan. $3.00.

The daughter of Baptist missionaries, Henriqueta Chamberlain was born in Brazil and lived there until she came to the United States to go to college. Young Henriqueta learned to love and admire the United States from her Virginian mother, and she loved Brazil out of her personal experience. Her story is an interesting account of the development of a young girl with a bicultural background, which makes it possible for her to compare the ways of thinking and doing of her two countries with fairness and understanding toward both and condescension toward neither. Her descriptions of Brazilian daily life will bring that country and its people nearer to readers than any number of scholarly tomes, however well documented and well written.

LIKE MOONLIGHT ON SNOW by John Hewlett. New York, McBride.

Mr. Hewlett tells how Simón Patiño, a poverty-ridden Bolivian half-breed, accidentally acquired the world's greatest tin deposits and built a world-wide financial empire. But this is no mere rags-to-riches story. It is a fantastic tale all right, but its real concern is with the use to which the Octopus of the Andes—as his enemies called him—put the terrific power and enormous wealth concentrated in his hands. He died since this book was published—in Buenos Aires this April.

THE FIESTA AT ANDERSON'S HOUSE by Scott Graham Williamson. New York, Henry Holt. $2.75.

What happens when a newspaperman from the mainland, down in Puerto Rico to write an article on the island, throws a party composed of plenty of rum, a motley group of men—continentals and islanders of all walks of life—and prostitutes from the local brothels, topped off by a hurricane. The author served in Puerto Rico during the war as a counter-espionage agent for the Radio Intelligence Division and makes a good try at showing the island's problems from various points of view through the opinions of several of his characters. The book has received favorable reviews, but many familiar with the Puerto Rican scene will find it wanting.

GENERAL

HUMAN DESTINY by Lecomte du Noüy. New York, Longmans, Green. $3.50.

In this thought-provoking, deeply earnest book, the distinguished French scientist concentrates all his weapons of modern science "to fight paralyzing skepticism and destructive materialism." Step by step he traces life from the obscure pre-Cambrian species of 1200 million years ago to the first men of one million years ago. Unlike the Sages of Tennessee Dr. Noüy heartily embraces evolution, but he will not leave the phenomena of evolution to chance. "Evolution," he insists, "is comprehensible only if we admit that it is dominated by a finality, a precise and distant goal." There are glorious and noble pages in HUMAN DESTINY, fruit for endless thought and inspiration, no matter what one's individual reaction may be to the thesis as a whole.

Hemispheric Army? . . . Britain's Mystery Man of the Middle East . . . Franco's Lopsided Diplomatic Corps.

It is a sign of the times that military diplomacy is currently assuming a gradually increasing role in negotiations revolving around the Inter-American System. At the plenary session at Chapultepec, on March 6, 1945, the American republics resolved to create a permanent inter-American military agency, eventually to replace the highly efficient Inter-American Defense Board which has its headquarters in Washington's new War Department building. The projected agency was designed to promote "close collaboration on the part of the military, naval and air forces of the American Republics."

Although no public discussion of the subject is favored at this particular time, there is considerable talk about inter-American military collaboration behind the scenes. General Emilio von der Becke, former Argentine Chief of Staff and now President Perón's representative on the Defense Board, is particularly active in these behind-the-scenes conversations.

Despite denials from Itamaraty Palace in Rio de Janeiro, a conference of American Chiefs of Staff was definitely contemplated in Brazil to lay the groundwork for what proponents of the scheme call a Continental Army. In the minds of certain military diplomatists of the Western Hemisphere, the Argentine—and not the United States' —Army looms as the nucleus of an inter-American military force.

General Perón maintains an ultra-modern army of 100,000 officers and men, undoubtedly the best equipped, best trained, and best disciplined force in South or Central America. It is second only to the U.S. Army and it is much less encumbered by democratic restrictions than its North American counterpart.

Latin America's 424,000 Soldiers

The advocates of this Continental Army point out that the military potential of Latin America can be brought to bear for the defense of the Hemisphere only if the variegated forces of some 19 countries are placed under unified command and equipped with standardized weapons. They maintain that once this is accomplished, a formidable military force could be added to the United States Army. At present there is a total of 424,000 men serving in the standing armies of the Latin American Republics. The potential military manpower of these countries is estimated to be in excess of five million men.

The pooled resources of all Latin American navies would, moreover, add five battleships, 12 modern cruisers, over 30 destroyers, and innumerable auxiliary craft to a Continental Navy of which, of course, the United States Navy would be the kingpin. There are approximately 50,000 naval personnel south of the Rio Grande. The air forces are going through a process of development. The aggregate aerial strength of a Continental Air Force is not considered formidable, with less than 30,000 trained pilots, mechanics and aviation technicians available. But several United States Air Missions are at work in Latin America trying to bring military aviation of the sister republics up to date and up to the standards of North American aviation.

In circles close to the Inter-American Defense Board it is felt that the present strength of the standing armies would be fully adequate for the implementation of the Chapultepec military resolution — provided that the available forces are organized on a continental rather than on a national basis.

With no aggressive intentions behind the plan, it is hoped that the creation of a hemispheric army will provide a pattern for an international military force to be organized by the United Nations under the provisions of the Charter.

Spain Belittles UN Censure

The Spanish Foreign Office tries to create the impression that the UN failed to disturb Franco's "diplomatic circles" when it recommended that all envoys be withdrawn from Madrid as a mark of international censure.

The recent appointment of Paul T. Culbertson as the American Embassy's new Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid was hailed there as the latest indication that the UN recommendation is not taken too seriously even by the United States. The Spanish Foreign Office was quick to point out that Culbertson is one of America's top-ranking diplomats, chief of the State Department's Division of Western European Affairs. The Spanish spokesman insisted that

Argentine soldiers—possible nucleus of a "Hemispheric Army"

the appointment of such a high-ranking diplomat to the Madrid post was tantamount to the nomination of an envoy—in fact, if not in name.

Acknowledging this implied compliment to Culbertson's exceptional qualifications, the State Department stressed nevertheless that his appointment to Madrid was but a routine reassignment under the time-honored rotation system. Even so, observers use Culbertson's reassignment to point up the rather ephemeral nature of the UN censure. The United States continues to maintain a huge diplomatic mission in Madrid, as does Spain in the United States. Fourteen diplomats are assigned to Franco's Washington Embassy, while 17 Spanish consuls are stationed in various American cities.

Indeed, Franco places special emphasis on his diplomatic arm. However poor present-day Spain might be, there seems to be enough money to pay for 12 embassies, 20 legations, and innumerable consulates in five continents. Significantly, the most elaborate diplomatic establishment is maintained in Argentina, where Franco has no less than 81 accredited diplomats. (By contrast, the United States has a staff of 78, Great Britain 33, and the U.S.S.R. 28 diplomatic representatives.)

Naturally, Franco's diplomacy orients itself toward the Western Hemisphere, especially toward certain Latin American countries. While he has only five diplomats assigned to nearby Belgium, he sent a staff of 27 to faraway Chile. It is in no small degree due to the skill of his diplomatic representatives that Franco has managed to survive in a world rid of Fascists.

Middle Eastern Middleman

CONCEALED behind the apparent unity in the British Government's official policy toward the Arab world is a serious diplomatic rift among representatives of the Foreign Office in the Middle East. Most acute is the controversy within the British Embassy in Cairo which, under Ambassador Sir Ronald Ian Campbell, is charged with the difficult task of negotiating a new treaty with Egypt.

It is common knowledge in the Middle East that the strong man of the Cairo Embassy is by no means the Ambassador himself. On the contrary, Sir Ronald has frequently found himself in the awkward position of officially protesting the undue powers of a mysterious Englishman whose influence with Arab politicians seems to make the Ambassador's ticklish task doubly difficult.

This English official is described as the "new Lawrence of Arabia." The mantle of the late T. E. Lawrence has in the past been indiscriminately hung on the shoulders of men like Peake Pasha and Brigadier J. B. Glub. But both men, working in and out of Transjordan, have protested the honor.

No such protest has ever come from Brigadier Charles T. Clayton, who is Ambassador Campbell's most powerful antagonist in the Near East. Clayton regards himself as Lawrence's spiritual successor and works hard on translating his predecessor's dream of an Arab Empire into working reality.

Little is known about Brigadier Clayton beyond the fact that he is an outstanding expert on the Middle East and a brilliant Arabic scholar. He is sometimes described as Britain's unofficial envoy to the Arab League—which he himself helped to create and which he nurtured to its present unquestioned power. Whatever he is, Clayton's word is accepted as law in "E" and "J"—the Eastern and Egyptian Departments of the London Foreign Office.

Clayton's Conclaves with Arabs

BRIGADIER CLAYTON invariably turns up wherever Arab politicians congregate. He is admitted to their most secretive conclaves. At Inchass, for example, during the conference of all Arab rulers, Clayton proposed, together with a blue-print for its implementation, the resolution which initiated an Arabia-wide drive against all liberals. Again at Bludan it was the Brigadier's argumentation that stiffened Arab opposition to the Jews in Palestine.

It is a remarkable aspect of British secret diplomacy that it frequently reveals a split personality. Clayton went to the Middle East at about the time when the late Orde Wingate turned up in Palestine. While Wingate worked clandestinely with the Jews in the hills of Judea, Clayton organized the Arabs against them.

During the first World War, too, Britain had two full sets of political agents working against each other in the same region. Colonel Lawrence and his associates supported the Husseinis of the Hedjaz against the Wahabbis of the Nedj. John Philby and Geoffrey Shakespeare worked with Ibn Saud against the Husseinis. Assiduous as he is, Clayton complicates rather than resolves the intricate problems created by his forerunners in the sands of Arabia.

Dardanelles' Kid Brother

WITH all eyes focused on the Turkish Straits, another waterway is cropping up in current diplomatic conversations. It is Germany's Kiel Canal, built in 1895 to connect the Baltic and the North Sea. At present, the 60-mile long canal is in the British zone, administered by the Royal Navy. It has recently been restored to operating condition through dredging.

The suggestion that the former Kaiser Wilhelm Canal be internationalized came quite unexpectedly from the Danish Foreign Ministry in an *aide memoire* to the British Foreign Office. The appointment of an "international body to superintend and control" the Kiel Canal was requested.

The Danish memorandum—a copy of which was sent to the deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers—caused some embarrassment in Whitehall which opposes the internationalization of the strategic waterway. The British Government is determined to do everything in its power to avoid the linking of the Kiel Canal to discussions on the fate of the Dardanelles.

Wedlock Deadlock

MARITAL relations are making a unique incursion into diplomacy to darken the clouds of relations between the Western Democracies and the Soviet Union. A number of Soviet wives of British and American ex-servicemen and diplomatic personnel await the Kremlin's permission to join their husbands in their respective countries. In one case, the Soviet bride of a British officer has been waiting for the reunion since 1942.

The problem was considered sufficiently important to induce Secretaries Marshall and Bevin to bring it to the attention of Foreign Minister Molotov. They interceded on behalf of the husbands — but without success. Molotov charges that, according to information received in Moscow, Soviet wives of Americans and Britons are victims of the present anti-Soviet sentiment. He cited several instances of alleged discrimination to private American sources. The refusal to grant the necessary exit visas, the Moscow Foreign Office maintains, is designed to "protect Soviet citizens against any untoward incident."

WORLD FILES

A monthly summary of all important speeches, treaties and other international documents of the preceding month, providing an invaluable guide and reference file for those interested in and concerned with international affairs.

Complete copies of any of the items summarized, including official documents when available, will be sent upon request to readers at cost plus a few cents for handling and mailing. Send your request, giving the key number of the document required, to World Files, United Nations World, 385 *Madison Avenue, New York* 17.

(*Covers period from March* 25 *through April* 22, 1947)

70:47 U.S.S.R.-U.S. Exchanges on Dairen

March 25, Washington

1. The U.S.S.R. notified the U.S. (Feb. 27) that it is prepared to fulfill its agreement of August 14, 1945, with China and turn Dairen administration over to Chinese.

2. As result of the notification U.S., in notes to Moscow and Nanking, expressed hope the transfer of administration would be made soon.

Background: Moscow's Feb. 27 note followed the dispatch of simultaneous U.S. notes, on January 3, to Moscow and Nanking, requesting the fulfillment of the Dairen agreement (See World Files, Feb.).

71:47 Dutch-Indonesian Pact

March 25, Batavia

1. The "Cheribon Agreement" gives effect to the draft drawn on Nov. 15, 1946, recognizing the Republic of Indonesia, comprising Java, Sumatra and Madura.

2. It projects the formation of a sovereign nation composed of the Indonesian Republic, Borneo and the Eastern Islands, by Jan. 1, 1949, which will be known as the United States of Indonesia and will become an equal partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the "Netherlands-Indonesian Union."

Note: Following the signing of the pact, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, acting Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies, explained that economic agreements were yet to be reached, and that although the Dutch recognize the Indonesian Government as having "de facto" authority over Java, Sumatra and Madura, these islands "are still the Dutch Indies." He also stated that Jan. 1, 1949, the projected date for creation of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union was not guaranteed.

72:47 U. S.-Mexican Labor Accord

March 25, Washington

1. Machinery to be set in motion as of April 10 to send Mexican farm laborers into the United States on a contract basis, and to return those who have entered illegally. Recruiting stations will be set up at Mexicali and Ciudad Juarez and Reynosa.

Note: It is estimated that there are approximately 119,000 illegal entrants who will be weeded out.

73:47 Franco Decree on Spanish Succession

March 31, Madrid

1. Paves the way for restoration of the monarchy, and provides for a successor to Generalissimo Franco, who must be male, of royal blood, over 30, and a Catholic.

2. The successor must appear before the *Cortes* (Parliament) and swear to uphold the following four laws: (a) The Charter of the Spaniards (a so-called bill of rights); (b) The Labor Charter; (c) the law establishing the *Cortes,* and (d) the Succession Law.

3. Provides for a Regency Council to operate pending the choice of a Chief of State.

74:47 Statement of Don Juan on Franco Decree

April 7, Lisbon

1. Spain requires a stable government which can only be provided by the hereditary monarchy. The decree is not the wish of the Spanish people; the "holder of the crown" takes no part in it.

75:47 Italy Decrees Increase in the Price of Bread

April 3, Rome

1. The Cabinet Council decreed a 50% increase in price of rationed bread. On the other hand, the decree requires the reduction of prices on other commodities of at least 5%.

Background: The increase in the bread price is the result of a compromise between the Christian Democrats, who wish to abolish bread rationing, and the Communists, who wish to maintain it. Food prices increased 25% during 1946 and have been rising at a more rapid rate during the first months of 1947. The increase in the bread price is expected to reduce the loss the Italian Government sustains as a result of selling wheat to millers for less than it pays the producers.

76:47 De Gasperi Warns of Dictatorship Threat

April 4, Rome

1. At press conference, De Gasperi requested moneyed classes to cooperate in preventing economic chaos through inflation.

2. Expressed hope U.S. will grant $200,000,000 loan awaiting Congress' approval.

3. If cooperation is lacking a dictatorship must result.

77:47 Truman's Jefferson Day Speech

April 5, Washington

1. We have witnessed atrocious violations of the rights of nations, and like Jefferson, have declared our protest, and must make our protest effective by aiding those peoples whose freedoms are endangered.

2. Our responsibility is to stand guard before the United Nations, and by aiding free nations we strengthen the United Nations.

3. The people of America must support the struggle for the rights of man throughout the world.

78:47 Gromyko Statement on U.S. Plan to Aid Greece and Turkey

April 7, Lake Success

1. It is impossible to agree with the U.S. assertion that the action it proposes would strengthen the United Nations. On the contrary, it "weakens" the UN.

2. The Government of the U.S. did not approach the UN with regard to aid for Greece and Turkey. It by-passed the UN, which brings about international suspicion and hampers confidence among nations.

3. If, as the U.S. alleges, there is a threat to the welfare of Greece and Turkey, it is

VAN BUREN ADVISORY SERVICE

Free information and guidance
on
BOARDING SCHOOLS, SUMMER SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

For children from 5 to 17
Also international school

R. M. VAN BUREN
68-60 108th Street Forest Hills, N. Y.
Telephone BO 8-5896

incumbent upon the U.S. to bring the matter up to the Security Council for determination, in accordance with the Charter.

4. However, the U.S. considered unilateral action easier, and reference to the UN came only as an afterthought.

5. Turkey, during the war, "supplied Hitlerite Germany with strategic raw materials," and only declared war on Germany when it was obvious that the Allies would win. Therefore, Turkey should not be given any aid, particularly since Turkey did not suffer as a result of the war.

79:47 Vandenberg Statement on Aid to Middle East

April 8, Washington

1. It is a plan to forestall aggression and strengthen the UN pending the time when UN itself can take over.

2. U.S. must strive for the honorable removal of underlying frictions, if mutually possible, between U.S. and U.S.S.R.; and for closest integration of all plans with the collective responsibilities of a strengthened and matured UN.

3. Military aid is necessary to help Greece to be self-reliant in defense of her self-chosen government.

80:47 Austin Statement in Reply to Gromyko

April 10, Lake Success

1. When Congress reaches decisions on Pres. Truman's proposals for Greece and Turkey, U.S. will register the agreements with the Secretary-General of the UN and give full information to any member of UN who requests it.

2. The projected plan was made upon request of Greece and Turkey, and the Executive did not propose to interfere in the domestic affairs of either nation.

3. The U.S. has faith in the UN and intends that all men shall enjoy freedom—economic, political, social and religious, and above all freedom from fear.

81:47 China to Sell Government Assets Under Defense Council Program

April 8, Nanking

1. In accordance with emergency economic program (See World Files, March issue) the government is divesting itself of ownership of all state enterprises except "those necessary for national defense and public utilities."

82:47 Indonesia Maps Ten-Year Plan

April 8, Batavia

Aims to change economy of Republic from a colonial to a semi-socialistic one by transferring public utilities from private to public ownership (with compensation); transfer of publicly owned utilities from the Netherlands E. Indies government to the Indonesian Government; a temporary state monopoly of export and import trade, and many other measures.

83:47 U. S.-South Africa Pact

April 9, Capetown

1. Averts inequity of double death duties and double taxation of estates.

84:47 Wage Increase Decreed in Rumania

April 9, Bucharest

1. Wages ordered increased 700% to meet price levels.

2. Large denominations of 1,000,000 lei are planned for issue.

85:47 Anglo-Albanian Dispute Referred to World Court

April 9, Lake Success

1. The Corfu Channel mine dispute between Britain and Albania (See World Files, April issue) was referred to the International Court of Justice by the UN Security Council. The vote was eight to none; Britain did not participate; U.S.S.R. and Poland abstained.

86:47 Marshall Requests Revision of Polish Borders

April 9, Moscow

1. U. S. intends to keep its pledge to enlarge Poland's borders far beyond what they were before the war. However, in granting land to Poland, both Polish and German economy must be taken into consideration. If lands taken from Germany reduce her food supplies beyond a certain point, she will have to make up her loss with highly increased industrial output in order to feed herself, thereby again creating a potential threat to peace.

2. A Special Boundary Commission should be set up, composed of representatives of the U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S., France and Poland, and a convenient number of other Allied states to be designated by the Council of Foreign Ministers, to revise Polish borders, to compensate her for the loss of territory ceded to the Soviet Union, and to consider her economic needs in terms of raw materials and heavy industries.

87:47 Marshall's Letter to Molotov on Korea

April 11, Moscow

1. U.S. policy toward Korea has the following basic objectives: to establish as soon as possible a self-governing sovereign Korea, eligible for membership in UN; insure representative government in Korea; aid in building a sound economy for a democratic state.

2. In accordance with the Moscow Agreement of December, 1945, subscribed to subsequently by China, a Joint Commission was set up to assist in the formation of a democratic government. The Joint Commission reached a stalemate because it could not agree on a definition for "democratic," and adjourned May 6, 1946, *sine die*.

3. Despite several requests on the part of the American commander to the Soviet commander to reconvene the commission, it has been impossible to do so because the Soviet commander insists on a formula which would eliminate the majority of representative Korean leaders.

4. Suggests U.S. and U.S.S.R. agree to instruct their commanders to reconvene the Joint Commission as soon as possible and charge it with expediting its work in accordance with the Moscow Agreement.

88:47 U.S.S.R. Agrees to Negotiate Lend-lease Settlement

April 14, Washington and Moscow

1. The Soviet Union received $11,000,000,000 and 95 cargo vessels in lend-lease from the United States, and has given $2,213,000 in reverse lend-lease.

2. Discussions on the settlement will begin as soon as Soviet Ambassador Novikov returns to Washington from Moscow.

Background: The lend-lease agreement signed June 11, 1942, provided the U.S.S.R., among other things, with a $221,000,000 pipeline, 14,834 airplanes, 7,056 trucks, 51,503 jeeps, 35,170 motorcycles, 8,071 tractors, anti-aircraft artillery, munitions, machine guns, 1,981 locomotives, 11,158 freight cars, 105 submarine chasers, 197 torpedo boats, 7,784 marine engines, foodstuffs, steel, petroleum products, chemicals, wool and cotton cloth, leather, and army boots. The agreement to negotiate came after considerable prodding by the U. S.

89:47 De Gaulle Assumes Leadership of New Political Party

April 14, Paris

1. De Gaulle assumed leadership of a new party entitled *Reunion of the French People*, with the avowed purpose of seeking a strong executive proceeding directly from the people.

2. Jacques Soustelle was elected secretary of the new party.

Note: In speeches both in Bar le Duc and in Strasbourg, de Gaulle criticized the French Constitution; emphasized that France must ally herself with the Western powers and that the interests of the West typified by the U. S. were vastly different than those of the U.S.S.R. The speeches drew adverse criticism from Ramadier and other French leaders.

90:47 Truman Proposal to Congress to Change Neutrality Act

April 15, Washington

1. Requests legislation authorizing supervision of import and export of arms, ammunition and implements of war; to provide for registration of manufacturers, exporters, importers and certain dealers in munitions; to provide for obtaining more adequate information concerning international traffic in arms.

2. Requests Congress to establish a Na-

tional Munitions Control Board under the administration of the Secretary of State, which will determine when such registration shall take place, and will keep Congress and the President informed of the arms situation.

91:47 Albania Criticizes Greece to Security Council

April 17, Lake Success

1. In a letter to the Secretary General four alleged violations of her territorial waters are cited by Albania against Greece.

Note: The waters in question are the Corfu Channel, over which the Anglo-Albanian dispute took place recently.

92:47 U. S. Limits Recognition of Indonesian Republic

April 17, Washington

1. U. S. State Department informed Dutch Government that its recognition of the Indonesian Republic will be *de facto*, limited to local affairs, and that it will continue to recognize the Netherlands Government in foreign and economic affairs.

93:47 Franco - British - American Pact on German Coal

April 21, Moscow

1. Increased amounts of coal will be made available to France through the Coal Organization as production rises. When production of coal in the Ruhr and Saar reaches 300,000 tons daily, 21.5% will be available for export and France will get approximately 300,000 tons a month. On a daily output of 370,000 tons, the export quota will be 25% and France will receive 440,000 tons a month.

94:47 Big Four Financial Agreement on Trieste

April 22, Moscow

1. The economic independence of the Free Territory of Trieste should be provided for in regard to questions of budget, balance of payments, currency, customs, taxation, and other financial economic questions.
2. Goods of Italian and Yugoslav origin may be imported into Trieste duty-free, provided reciprocal agreements can be reached with those two countries.
3. If necessary, because of a deficit in foreign exchange due to the balance of payments, the Governor may request, and the Security Council should grant out of UN resources up to $5,000,000 to be put at the disposal of the Free Territory.

95:47 Molotov's Reply to Marshall's Letter on Korea

April 22, Moscow

1. The U.S.S.R. has every intention of upholding the Moscow Agreement as regards the setting up of a democratic government in Korea.
2. The U.S. delegation refused to admit such large and democratic organizations as the All-Korea Confederation of Labor and the All-Korea Peasant group to the discussions.
3. The U.S.S.R. suggests that the Commission resume its work on May 20 and submit its reports to the U.S. and Soviet Governments by July-August, 1947.

(*Continued from Page* 21)

and inspection of atomic energy and on simultaneous measures for disarmament.

b. *An international agreement for the absorption of displaced persons.*

c. *A world conference on economic problems. The truly internationally-minded citizen would suppose that initiative for such a conference would come from the peoples of the prosperous countries, whose delegates would not bargain over the amounts to be spent, but would examine minimum consumption needs and productive capacities of the various peoples, and perhaps create a world economic plan, complete with international public works and development authorities.*

d. *The adoption of various programs of mass education under the UN. For instance, such a program as the health education system sponsored by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs of the U. S. Government jointly with the Latin-American governments. At an annual cost to the U. S. of only about* $5,000,000, *this body is doing an extraordinary job in the malaria-, typhus-, and typhoid-infested areas of Latin America. This might properly be placed under UN, and applied, on a larger scale, in other countries such as China and India. Other similar education programs could be initiated.*

e. *The adoption of an international bill of human rights, one that would effectively increase human rights everywhere in the world. This might have to wait until UN was strengthened, as differences of national opinion over such a bill of rights ought not to be allowed to interfere with the main task of making UN effective.*

The World Citizen's Representatives

7. *Observe the Delegates to UN.* Just as the members of the Senate and House of Representatives are the U. S. citizen's messengers in government, so the Delegates to UN are the world citizen's representatives in the only world organization he now has; and he should want to watch the latter as closely as he does the former —know their names, their backgrounds, their work in UN. UN Delegates are not elected representatives, but they are subject to the same sorts of influences by public opinion and pressure as the appointive officials of a democracy. It is to be hoped that some day UN will be democratic, that the General Assembly, for instance, will become a real parliament of the peoples. A first step to this end might be for the democratic nations independently to take initiative, without amendment to the Charter, in having at least two of their five Delegates to the General Assembly elected directly by the people to that office. It is conceivable that as many as ten nations would adopt this procedure if the United States and Britain took the lead.

The Peril of Apathy

8. *Proselytize.* So widespread and deep-seated has apathy become, in spite of the worsening crisis in world affairs, that it devolves on everyone who has convictions to try to pass them on to others. Here, besides the conversational types of persuasion, there are certain specific efforts that can be made. On a local scale, it should be possible, working through a civic organization, to persuade school boards to formalize education on UN and world relationships. Many schools are already giving piecemeal instruction along these lines, but very few have yet undertaken formal courses. Surely it is just as important for students today to learn about world affairs, through a systematized course, as it is for them to learn about their national forms of government, through the civics courses which are now generally presented in public schools. Similarly, public libraries could be persuaded to set up shelves or cases devoted to World Organization, including the books mentioned above and others like them. There are many opportunities, through local forums, voters' leagues, church groups, newspapers, and political action organizations, to raise and discuss these questions. The fostering

of contacts with individuals of other countries is invaluable.

The Intelligent Approach

9. *Have a personal philosophy.* It matters very little, for the purposes of this discussion, whether the personal philosophy at which one arrives is based on the Catholic papal encyclical *Quadrigessimo Anno;* or on the eighteenth century philosophers of democracy, Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, or on Jefferson and the Federalists; or, for that matter, on Buddhism and filial piety; or any other scheme. The point is that in reaching a philosophy, an intelligent world citizen is bound to realize that there are many political, economic and religious systems in the world; he can be a more intelligent adversary of those with which he does not agree; he can also be more tolerant; he may even be able to change his opinions in a changing world. But he can do these things only if he knows exactly what he thinks at any given moment.

It Takes Courage

10. *Reinforce convictions with courage.* It is ironic that it should ever take courage to work for peace; but just now it does. It takes courage to fight against disinterestedness and boredom; apathy is a formidable and down-dragging adversary. Being pro-peace is nowadays equated, in many quarters, with being pro-Russian and Communistic. It is perfectly possible to disagree strongly with the Communist system and Russian methods, and still work for peace; just as it was possible, during the New Deal, in the United States, for a Republican to be a rabid Roosevelt-hater and still be pro-democracy; or, at present, for a Democrat to be anti-Taft and still pro-American. It takes courage to act, and only by action on the part of individuals, only by going on from the basic steps outlined here to really coordinated political action on local, national and international planes, can the present trend toward war be reversed. Above all, it takes courage to hurry.

Ten Recommended Books On World Affairs

THE UNITED NATIONS, by Louis Dolivet. Farrar, Straus and Company. A handbook on the new world organization, considered the most authoritative up to date book on the United Nations. A simply written non-partisan explanation of the workings of the UN.

WE THE PEOPLES, by Mrs. Harrison Thomas. Published by the American Association for the United Nations, Inc. A brief history of the United Nations from its origin to October 1946, with the activities of the UN and the specialized agencies, and study aids.

THE WEB OF GOVERNMENT, by R. M. MacIver. Macmillan. A profound study on the growth of government, tracing it through its many changes and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of its various forms.

THE WILD FLAG, by E. B. White. Houghton Mifflin. The penetrating articles on world government in the author's most smoothly satiric vein, contributed to *The New Yorker* over a period of three or four years and collected here in one volume.

THE FEDERALIST, by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison. Everyman. G. P. Putnam Co. An exploration and study of the problems and principles involved in the creation and operation of enforceable law bearing on both actions and individuals under a federal government.

THE ANATOMY OF PEACE, by Emery Reves. Harper & Bros. An explanation of how nationalism and national sovereignty have outlived themselves, urging the establishment of world government to replace antiquated national state sovereignties.

MODERN MAN IS OBSOLETE, by Norman Cousins. Viking Press. An essay written the night following the news of Hiroshima, on the danger and opportunity represented by the utilization of atomic energy.

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR MILITARY USE, by Henry deWolf Smyth. Princeton University Press. A most thorough survey of the Manhattan Project, and a penetrating presentation of the progressive stages of atomic research.

A STUDY OF HISTORY, by Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgement by D. C. Somervell. Oxford University Press. A one-volume condensation, approved by Toynbee, of the six volumes so far completed of his monumental work analyzing the rise and fall of civilizations and reinterpreting history for the present era.

TIMETABLE FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT, by Thomas Finletter. (reprint from *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1946). A brief for strengthening the UN to enforce disarmament and for a limited world government adequate to prevent war.

(Continued from Page 4)

"Please accept my best wishes for the success of your venture."

OSWALDO ARANHA
Chief Brazilian Delegate to the UN and President of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly.

"I have read the UNITED NATIONS WORLD with a great deal of interest and may I seize this opportunity to wish the magazine great success in its venture to build a better understanding between the peoples of the earth, which is the basic foundation for a permanent peace."

ALI JAWDAT
Minister in Washington
The Royal Iraqi Legation

"I have found it (UNW) to be most interesting and wish you every success in your undertaking, which I feel sure will be a great help toward the realization of the ideals for which we are fighting."

GUILLERMO BELT
Cuban Ambassador

"May I express my wish that the United Nations World will soon be printed in many millions of copies and circulated in all the member nations of the United Nations."

JURAJ SLAVIK
Czechoslovak Ambassador

"It (UNW) is indeed a fine publication, and I congratulate you on it. All good wishes.

ROBERT L. JOHNSON
President, Temple University

"I . . . hasten to send you my congratulations . . . I do want to tell you that the magazine is a necessary adjunct to the UN. For the UN requires to be known, as an organization which is the channel of our diplomacy as well as the instrument of our hopes, and this is the job that the UNW seems well fitted to do. You have made an admirable start, and I wish you all success."

HERBERT ELLISTON
Editor, The Washington Post

"United Nations World . . . is one of the most interesting and challenging new publications I have ever seen. I think the writing is of an especially high caliber and the articles, without exception, seem to be both well written and well edited."

MERLE D. MILLER
Magazine Corporation of America

"I need not tell you that I wish you every success in your new venture for it is an important one, and you have a great opportunity to serve your generation."

JAMES RESTON
The New York Times

CANADA

By **DOROTHY DUNCAN**

SOME fifty years ago one of Canada's great statesmen, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed the belief that while the nineteenth century had belonged without question to the United States, the twentieth would as surely belong to Canada. His calculation of dates was perhaps a little rough, but his idea was sound. Canada is the last frontier on this continent. It possesses fabulous and almost untapped wealth. It is also in the direct path between Russia and the United States.

Yet of all the civilized nations, Canada has remained the least well known, both to her own inhabitants and to the rest of the world.

For a generation or more Americans have traveled through Canada as easily as they have moved from one state to another within their own country. Today they are crossing the Canadian border in such caravans that cars must sometimes wait in line through the night to inch forward across international bridges.

Because Americans usually know what they want when they arrive on Canadian soil, be it only a sight of the Dionne sisters, they seldom return unsatisfied. Because they can speak the language of the Canadians they meet (even a French *habitant* in Quebec is willing to use his sparse English with an American), they believe they understand their northern neighbors like an open book. But almost invariably they miss the one most valuable acquisition any traveler can make as he journeys away from home: a deeper understanding of himself.

American in Search of Himself

AMERICANS may travel in Canada to enjoy the scenery and the climate. In the line of magnificent views, Canada has much to offer, from the red cliffs of the Gaspé across four thousand

Canada offers its visitors many a magnifice view like this lake and mountain vista British Columbia.

miles to the fjords of British Columbia. But Americans are fooling themselves pitifully if they believe that meeting the people of Canada isn't their first objective. The more Canadians an American can meet and talk to, the wider knowledge he gains not only of Canada, but of human beings in general, and finally of himself and his relation to the world he lives in. For an American, there is no other place on earth so richly rewarding in a search for himself as Canada.

The differences between the two countries are subtle and profound, yet the opportunities to discover them are easier than most Americans would imagine. The similarities are obvious, but they are of equal value in forecasting to an American both the future weakness and future strength of his own country. Learn as much as you can about Canada before you cross her borders. With little or no foreknowledge, you are more than apt to be misled by every similarity you find to the United States.

One small point in view might well be the racial composition of Canadians. Americans know all about their own melting pot. Has the same process occurred in this country which, unlike the United States, kept aloof from revolution? The mirror of Canada reflects the passions and developments and peculiarities of every Englishman, Ukrainian, Norman peasant, Scotsman, Pole, American, Hollander and Scandinavian who has made his home within its borders. The same characteristics of these same people have helped to blend the color of the United States. And yet the behavior pattern of Canada and Canadians as a whole differs markedly from the behavior of the United States in some of its less easily explicable moments of international decision. There must be a reason.

Watch the Hanoverian fishermen and boat-builders of Lunenberg in Nova Scotia and listen to their rough, humorous stories; hear the lilting voices of Highland Scotsmen in Cape Breton and mark the look of wise happiness in their eyes; speak to the puritan loyalists along the Saint John River in New Brunswick and recognize not only the same turn of speech but the same turn of mind that makes them kin to their cousins who stayed behind in New England during the Revolution. Study the placid, witty French-Canadian both on his farm and in the industrial centers of Quebec, and then try to reason what his influence has been in the industrial towns of New England, where he migrated in numbers past a million.

The Mirror of the Dominion

Out on the prairies one can find communities of Ukrainians, of Poles, Sudeten-Germans and Doukhobors from Russia. On the happy island of Victoria retired Englishmen have made for themselves another England. Each of these groups has been encouraged to retain native customs and folkways, native songs and old-country dress. Yet they are notably loyal to their adopted country and the laws of the land.

The Dominion's mirror not only reflects in sharp outline the behavior patterns of many people who comprise its population; it likewise mirrors a wide space in time. Americans stop occasionally to ask themselves the questions: "How did we get this way?" "Have we made a mistake somewhere in our past?" Perhaps the answers can be found in Canada. Patterns of behavior current in your grandparents' day are still current in many parts of Ontario and the Maritimes.

I do not mean to imply that Canada is not a vital part of the twentieth century. I mean only that her psychology and her philosophy have given her a different gait from the United States. Americans appear to enjoy rushing from place to place, without time for contemplation or rest. It is always something of a shock to them when they discover that elsewhere, even so close as next door, their neighbors sometimes entertain a suspicion that mechanical progress may be more nearly akin to the whirling pace of a dog chasing its own tail.

What makes this different point of view in a people who live under much the same geographical conditions as Americans, who come from much the same ancestry? The descendants of Priscilla and John Alden moved to Nova Scotia during the Revolution, and so did thousands of other learned, cultured men of Massachusetts, New York and the rest of the colonies. Is Canada envious of her wealthy, noisy neighbor to the south? Sometimes she is, more often she is not.

Don't Be Sorry for Canadians

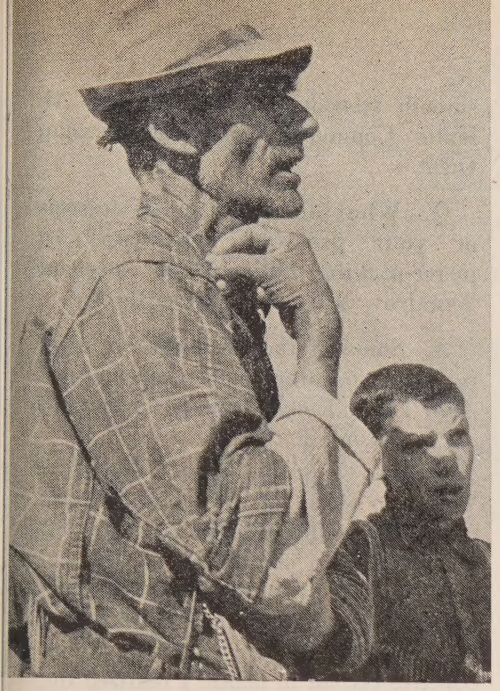
It is well not to be sorry for Canadians because they do not have as many gadgets as Americans have at home, as bright a display of neon signs, as many juke boxes, as many tall skyscrapers, or as high a rate of divorce. Strange as it may seem, most Canadians prefer their own scale of modernism.

In England, before World War I, Canadians were usually taken for Americans, which annoyed them. Englishmen still thought of Canada as a land of cowboys, wheat-farmers and adventurers. To Americans, on the other hand, Canadians have sometimes been confused with Englishmen in their minds. And yet those really typical Canadians whom the American meets constantly through trade or diplomacy seem so much like himself that he takes them for granted. Some of the most notable men in academic and professional life in America today are Canadian-born; yet there is less ballyhoo about their background than if they had come from Tennessee or Indiana.

It has given Canadians a good deal of amusement to watch Hollywood pick Alexander Knox of Toronto to play the part of Woodrow Wilson, Raymond Massey of Port Hope, Ontario, for Lincoln, and Walter Huston, another Canadian, to play such typical Ameri-

---

The Author: Dorothy Duncan, whose latest book, *Partner in Two Worlds*, received a Governor-General's award for the most outstanding creative nonfiction by a Canadian writer, is a Canadian by adoption only. Believing, however, that Canadians are far too shy and unassuming and excessively polite, she has constituted herself a kind of unofficial interpreter for them with two unusual travel books, *Here's to Canada*, and *Bluenose*, A Portrait of Nova Scotia, as a result. Of American-Scotch-Irish ancestry, Miss Duncan was born in New Jersey, the daughter of a railroad man and granddaughter of a Texas cattle rancher. She grew up on Chicago's North Shore and took a degree at Northwestern University. Newspaper and publicity work in Chicago followed; also, in the early thirties, several extended trips to Europe. It was on one such trip that she met the Nova Scotian she later married—the novelist Hugh MacLennan, who since the publication of his *Two Solitudes* has been one of Canada's most prominent literary figures. The MacLennans divide their time between Montreal and their summer place in the Eastern Townships of Quebec.



A typical French-Canadian of Quebec. Many like him immigrated south to New England and helped shape the character of its industrial towns.

cans as Dodsworth. Mary Pickford, Norma Shearer, Alexis Smith and Deanna Durbin (all Canadians) are considered typical Americans of their time. Understanding the similarity of tastes, culture and history between the two countries, Canadians are apt to consider the infiltration of Canadians into American life quite natural. It is always the smaller and weaker which is drawn to the stronger.

When Canadians glance southward across the border, it is not a mirror they find for their own reflections; they are peering through a clear pane of glass. Every day of their lives they read American magazines and newspapers and books, they study the trend of mind in American ads, see American movies, listen to American radio programs. They also know that nearly two dozen college presidents in the United States grew up and finished their own college training in Canada.

A Vast Land with Few People

It is always difficult for Americans to realize that a country as large as the Dominion could contain so few people—less than one-tenth of the population of the U. S., Canada's contiguous geographical area is second only in size to that of Soviet Russia. Yet its population is little more than that of Belgium. Such facts, realized before the border is crossed, will help any traveler in Canada to understand what he finds on the streets of Montreal, Halifax, Toronto or Vancouver.

Externally, Canada is a sovereign state, with ambassadors in foreign capitals and a place of honor at world conferences among the so-called smaller nations. She is not, and hasn't been for nearly a hundred years, a colony of Great Britain. Internally, she is still a curious *mélange* of influences that govern her future. A British King who is technically powerless to decide Canadian policy is her strongest emotional link to the Empire. And Montreal, a vital center within the Dominion, is the second-largest French city in the world.

Geographically, the United States and Canada share the same general vertical divisions of land formation. The Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island correspond roughly to New England. The Laurentian Mountains, spread out in the form of a shield, act as the same sort of dividing range as the Appalachians. The Mississippi Valley has its counterpart in Ontario, spiritually as well as physically. The Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta are a northern continuation of the plains of the United States; and finally, British Columbia is a grander continuation of Washington and Oregon. Only the American southwest has no parallel in Canada.

Untapped Powerhouses

But Canada has one thing which the United States has no longer: a frontier which has scarcely been touched. Men have penetrated the uninhabited territory, and established outposts in this hinterland, several hundred miles in some sections, but these are only pinpricks on the map. Anyone who wonders why Canada behaves this way instead of that way at a conference of nations might well remember that untapped powerhouse to the north.

The same winds bring heat and cold to the United States and Canada and the same currents of air flow across the border in circles. The winters are colder in some parts of civilized Canada, but the summers are much like those in the northern half of the United States, except that they are shorter. Such knowledge will save American travelers from appearing with skis and snow-suits in Montreal in July, as scores of them do year after year. Canadians are too polite even to laugh. They have long ago accepted the fact that Americans know nothing whatever about Canada, except as they consider Canadians to be lesser, colder versions of themselves.

Every American who crosses the border into Canada is as welcome as a friend or a cousin who has been too long away. With a mature wisdom Canadians tell themselves that it would be a boring world if we were all alike.

For the traveler who likes statistics, Canada can offer eye-openers. Let him remember, to begin with, that gold was produced in the Dominion to an annual value of $111,000,000 during the war years. If he also realizes that Canada is the first country in the world in production of nickel, platinum metals and asbestos, and third in gold, copper and silver, he may learn while he is in the country that it is likewise one of the prime sources of uranium. That should also help him to understand Canada's role at international round tables. Nor should he forget that before the war, one-third of all the wheat in the world was Canadian.

Wherever the traveler goes in Canada, let him hunt for those things that indicate a unity between the United States and the Dominion which is delicate, indefinable and tenuous. The more often Americans cross the border, the less distinct that border definition will become, and the mirror will soon be a clear pane of glass through which both sides can see equally well.

At the moment, Canada is still a fascinating foreign country for American travelers, beautiful to look at, lovely to listen to, and of supreme interest to watch in her process of learning to stand by herself, not as a stepdaughter of the European system, but as a dignified, self-confident individual.

In Nova Scotian villages like this, the Hanoverian fishermen and boat-builders swap salty yarns.

SEP 2 5 1947

(*Continued from page* 19)

ministration. I suggest that our own American foreign policy be designed and executed along the following lines:

1. We should consolidate the strategic and diplomatic connections of the Atlantic Community.

2. We should recognize as valid and proper the strategic system of the Russian Orbit, as including within it the states east of Germany and west of the Soviet Union.

I am afraid we did not prepare for the era of pacification according to these principles. The *fait accompli* found us fumbling for a plan and lured us into a wrong approach. Instead of concentrating on the consolidation of the Atlantic Community, we wasted time and energy on attempts to prevent the Russians from consolidating theirs. We failed to comprehend that thereby we were running up against the area of greatest resistance. The primary Russian policy is, in its simplest terms, not to lose the security which victory has given her. We tried to weaken the Russians in an effort to dislodge them from positions to which they are desperately clinging, while we should have bolstered the countries in our own Atlantic Community.

Q. Aren't we doing just this in Greece and Turkey?

A. In fact, yes, but in name we still refuse to call our move by its right name. Greece and Turkey are on the easternmost fringes of the Atlantic Community, where it fades into the Russian Orbit. We have the same legitimate strategic interests there as the Soviet Union has in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. We cannot tolerate an infringement of these interests, just as Russia can tolerate no interference in her Orbit. We need Greece and Turkey for strategic reasons, because they are the two countries whence Russia can best be contained in her Orbit. Here then was provided a first test for the United Nations to act as the arbiter of conflict between the Great Communities. We were acting hastily and committed the blunder of trying to settle by ourselves alone what in reality was a dispute. We should have taken the case to the United Nations and thereby demonstrated our realization of the proper functions of the international organization. The amendment proposed by Senator Vandenberg to the Greco-Turkish aid bill corrected this blunder and outlines for us the path we must follow in the future.

Q. Aside from the current crisis, where do we stand today?

A. More than a year was lost in a grandiose attempt to disturb what is a natural power balance in Europe, a precious year during which our own domestic political constellation would have favored the execution of a positive American foreign policy. Prior to November 1946, the Administration could have counted on the support of a Democratic Congress to provide the moral and material support that such a policy inevitably requires. And it requires formidable support—billions of dollars to be poured almost indiscriminately into countries of the Atlantic Community and, above all, into France, which together with the U. S. and the U. K., is the leader of this community.

A prosperous, tranquil and free Atlantic Community would have attracted members of the Russian Orbit like a magnet. No local pressure could have prevented depression-ridden and oppressed countries in the other Orbit from orienting toward the West. This would have been a natural process. It would not have necessitated our soliciting this orientation.

Q. Where does Germany fit into this picture?

A. Germany continues to hold the ultimate balance of European power. It was essential for us to develop and follow an independent policy in Germany. We have the means of bringing about a solution in Germany, with or without the Soviet Union, whether the Russians like it or not. We could have created a kernel of European consolidation in the German vacuum that had to be filled. We could have formed a loose German Federation in the three zones we control, then invite the Russians to join us in the enterprise—but form it anyway, without them if need be. Then we could have built the rest of Western Europe around this kernel . . . built it firmly, with a judicious but generous expenditure of money, according to a carefully conceived plan, under our positive leadership.

Europe cannot long live stretched abreast an arbitrary demarcation line drawn down its center. The countries which would lie to the east of this line would look yearningly to the consolidated west and join up of their own accord, as they would naturally gravitate to us under the impact of their own economic needs. Unfortunately, no such effort was made to create smooth relationships between the Atlantic Community and the Russian Orbit.

Q. What are the topical lessons of your previous experience in peace-making when you advised Woodrow Wilson in Versailles?

A. Some of the mistakes we made in 1919 are unfortunately repeated today. Two mistakes in particular stand out in my mind.

It was a mistake for Woodrow Wilson to act as his own chief delegate to the Versailles Conference. He left no margin for compromise. His decisions were as final as his commitments. He made both, and stood bound by them, with no provisions left for an effective retreat in depth. I realized the situation early in the game and attempted to dissuade Wilson from going to Paris himself.

The second mistake was to permit the gradual deterioration of the international situation while the Peace Conference was in session. The Powers which dominated the Conference joined in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. I tried in vain to remind Wilson of the incongruity of the situation. I pointed out that by participating in this war during the era of pacification we were bound to cancel out the eventual effectiveness of the peace treaty we were drafting. Open hostility to Russia *ipso facto* provided Germany with a potential ally. Realizing the inevitable consequences of these errors, I left the Peace Conference in dismay.

It is unnecessary to point out the parallel between two sets of post-war errors, even though General Marshall's appointment as Secretary of State fills me with the hope that some of the mistakes of this era may still be corrected.

Q. What, then, is left to be done?

A. We must reverse the Wilsonian principles. We must seek to conserve the existing political states, rather than to dismember them on the ground of self-determination. We must approve, not forbid, perfect and not dissolve, the regional grouping of national states. As I said in 1944, "the true constituents of the universal society would not then be seventy-three political molecules, likely to split up into no one knows how many atoms; the universal society would be the association of the great communities of mankind."

154